

ASIATIC PAPERS.

PART III.

MOSTLY PAPERS READ BEFORE
THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

By

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

IN ENGLISH

- The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ
Aiyâdgâr : Zarîrân, Shatroihâ : Aurân, va Afîdya va Sahî-
giya Seistân, &c., The Memoir of Zarîr, Cities of Irân, and
the Wonders and Marvels of Seistân (Pahlavi Translations,
Part I Texts in Gujarâtî character, with English and
Gujarâtî translations and notes)
- Jâmâspî (Pahlavi Translations, Part III Pahlavi, Pazend and
Persian texts with translations)
- The Persian Farzîât nâme'h and Kholâsch : Dîn of Dastur
Dârâb Pâhlân, Text and English Version with Notes
- Asiatic Papers, Parts I and II
- Anthropological Papers, Parts I, II and III (Part IV in
the Press)
- Masonic Papers
- Dante Papers
- Memorial Papers
- The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ.
- Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab
- Moral Extracts from Zoroastrian Books
- A few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their
Dates
- A Glimpse into the Work of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic
Society during the last 100 years, from a Parsee point of
view
- Dastur Bahman Kaikobad and the Kisseh : Sanjan
- Education among the Ancient Iranians
- Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees
- The Religious System of the Parsees
- A Catechism of the Zoroastrian Religion
- The Naôjote Ceremony of the Parsees
- The Marriage Ceremony of the Parsees
- Marriage Customs among the Parsees, their comparison with
similar customs of other Nations
- Les Impressions d'un Parsi sur la Ville de Paris
- La Visite d'un Parsi à la Ville de Constantinople
- La Cérémonie du Naôjote parmi les Parsis

વાયુચક્ર શાસ્ત્ર (Meteorology)

જમશેદ, હોમ અને આતશ (Jamshed, Hom and Fire)

અવસ્તા જમાનાની ધર મંસારી જીંદગી, ભુગોળ અને એકગણનામું
(The Social Life, Geography and Articles of Faith of Avesta times)

અનાહીત અને કુઝેહર Anahita and Farohar

અતિંયની જીંદગી અથવા આત્માનું અમરપણું (Immortality of the Soul)

મેઠ્રે અને જશને મેઠ્રે માન (Mithra and the Feast of Mithras)

અવસ્તાના વિશેષ નામોની કુરહંગ (A Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names)

ઇરાની વિષયો, ભાગ પહેલો (Iranian Essays, Part I)

ઇરાની વિષયો, ભાગ બીજો (Iranian Essays, Part II)

ઇરાની વિષયો, ભાગ ત્રીજો (Iranian Essays, Part III)

જાત ઉપર વાચ્ચેજ (A Sermon on Death)

શાહનામું મીનોચેહરના રાજ્ય સુધી (Shah nâmeḥ up to the reign of Minocheher)

શાહનામું અને શીદૌસી (Shah nâmeḥ and Fridousi)

જ્ઞાનપ્રસારક વિષયો, ભાગ પહેલો (Lectures before the Dnyân Prasârak Society, Part I)

જ્ઞાનપ્રસારક વિષયો, ભાગ બીજો (Lectures before the Dnyân Prasârak Society, Part II)

જ્ઞાનપ્રસારક વિષયો, ભાગ ત્રીજો (Lectures before the Dnyân Prasârak Society, Part III)

જ્ઞાનપ્રસારક વિષયો, ભાગ ચોથો (Lectures before the Dnyân Prasârak Society, Part IV)

જરથોશ્તી ધર્મ સંબંધી પ્રશ્નોત્તર (Zoroastrian Catechism)

જરથોશ્તી ધર્મની તવારીખ (History of the Zoroastrian Religion).

જરથોશ્તી ધર્મના કામો અને ક્રીયાઓ (Zoroastrian Rites and Ceremonies)

પુરાતન ઇરાનનો ઇતિહાસ, ભાગ પહેલો (Ancient History of Iran, Part I)

ઇરાનનું પેશદાદીઆન વંશ (Peshdâdian Dynasty of Iran)

ઇરાનનું ક્યેઆનીઆન વંશ (Khyânian Dynasty of Iran)

જરથોશ્તી ધર્મ સંબંધી બાધણો અને વાચ્ચેજો, ભાગ પહેલો (Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects, Part I).

- જગ્યાશતી ધર્મ સબધી ભાષણો અને વાચ્છિકો ભાગ બીજો (Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects Part II)
- જગ્યાશતી ધર્મ સબધી ભાષણો અને વાચ્છિકો ભાગ ત્રીજો (Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects Part III)
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- જગ્યાશતી ધર્મ સબધી ભાષણો અને વાચ્છિકો ભાગ પાંચમો (Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects Part V)
- જગ્યાશતી ધર્મ સબધી ભાષણો અને વાચ્છિકો ભાગ છઠો (Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects Part VI)
- બુન્દહેશ (Bundehesh Transliteration and Translation with Notes in Gujarati Pahlavi Translations Part II)
- કદીમ ઇરાનીઓ, હીરોડોટસ અને સ્ટ્રાબો મુજબ, અવસ્થા અને બીજા પાગમી પુસ્તકોની મરખામણી મારે (The Ancient Iranians according to Herodotus and Strabo compared with the Avesta and other Parsee Books)
- શાહનામાના દામ્તાનો ભાગ પહેલો (Episodes from the Shah nameh, Part I)
- શાહનામાના દામ્તાનો ભાગ બીજો (Episodes from the Shah nameh, Part II)
- શાહનામાની મુદગીઓ (Heroines of the Shah nameh)
- મુસ્તાલની દિવસો કેવા છે ? તે બાબેની પહેલી પાગમી ફારસી વિગેરે પુસ્તકોને આધારે તપાસ (An Inquiry from Pahlavi Pazend, Persian and other works on the subject of the Number of Days of the Fravardegin)
- મુબદના પાગમી ધર્મ ખાતાઓ (Bombay Parsee Charities)

WORKS EDITED BY THE SAME AUTHOR

K. R. CAMA MEMORIAL VOLUME

THE PAHLAVI MADIGAN I HAZIP DADISTAN

K. R. CAMA MASOVIC JUBILEE VOLUME

SPIEGEL MEMORIAL VOLUME

SIR J. J. MADRESSA JUBILEE VOLUME

To
THE CHANCELLOR,
VICE-CHANCELLOR AND FELLOWS OF THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY,
AS AN HUMBLE TOKEN OF MY APPRECIATION
OF THE SPLENDID WORK OF THE UNIVERSITY
AND
AS A SOUVENIR OF THIS, THE JUBILEE
YEAR OF MY GRADUATION (1877) AND THE
QUARANTINE YEAR OF MY FELLOWSHIP (1887).

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PREFACE.

~~We trust that~~ Mr Modi will some day collect his numerous essays into a volume, they are worthy of preservation' (The late Right Revd Dr L C Casartelli Professor of St Bedes College Manchester Bishop of Salford in the Babylonian and Oriental Record Vol VIII No 31, p 72 April 1896)

Mr Modi an educated Parsee Gentleman and a prolific writer has recorded in his essays much that would not otherwise be published of his countrymen whose ancestors emigrated from Persia fleeing from the Arab conquest and settled in the Bombay Presidency There is much to learn of Indian life from his papers which Mr Modi should continue to write and publish (The London Academy of 14th September 1913) Appreciations of this kind from the above and other Literary Journals have encouraged me to publish my Asiatic and Anthropological Papers in book forms

In all I have read 47 papers before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Out of these 30 have been published in separate Volumes as follows

16 Asiatic papers, part I (1900)

13 Asiatic papers, part II (1917)

2 In a separate volume entitled The Parsees at the court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana (1903)

1 In a separate volume entitled A glimpse into the world of the B B R A Society during the last 100 years from a Parsee point of view (1905)

1 In a volume entitled Danto papers (1914)

2 In a separate volume entitled Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darah (1914)

Eight more are published in this volume Four more remain to be published in another volume

I also give in this volume the following 4 papers read or contributed elsewhere

(a) The Afghanistan of the Amirs and the ancient Mazda yacnâns contributed to the East and West of Bombay

(b) A Parsee Prayer presenting passages parallel to those of two Greek and Chinese anecdotes sent through the B B R A Society to the Royal Asiatic Society of London on the occasion of the celebration of its Centenary

(c) "Wine among the Ancient Persians" read before a local Society, the Zarthosti Dru n Khol Karnār Mandl

(d) "A Mohamedan view of comets The view of the ancient Iranians (*Pishinigān*)" contributed to the columns of the "Revue du Monde Musalman" (40 Anne No) I beg to thank the Editors for this republication

I give my best thanks to my learned friend Mr Bomanji Nusservanji Dhabhar, M.A, for kindly preparing the Index of this volume

I took my degree in the Bombay University on 16th January 1877, when the then Governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, was the chancellor of the University and I was nominated a fellow of the University in 1887 I have served my *Alma Mater* continuously for these last 40 years Thus, this is the *Jubilee* year of my Graduation and the *quarantine* year of my Fellowship of the University So I take this happy opportunity to do myself the honour and pleasure of dedicating this my humble work to my mother University This University and the Literary and Scientific Societies of Bombay, among which my dear Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay is the foremost have made me what I am I bow my head of homage and gratitude to them for all the mental nourishment that they have given me May they all prosper is my heartfelt prayer

JIVANJI JANSHEDJI MODL

• 24th March, 1927

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The Mogul Emperors at Kashmir :
Jehangir's Inscriptions at Virnâg. An inscription
on the Dâl Lake.

(Read on 17th July 1917)

I

I had the pleasure of visiting the interesting and beautiful country of Kashmir for the first time in May 1895. This visit suggested several subjects for study. Of these, one was "Cashmere and the Ancient Persians," and a Paper was read on the subject before this Society at its meeting of 9th December 1895.¹

¹ Journal B. D. R. 4 & Vol. XIX pp. 232-43. A public lecture on "Kashmir" was also delivered in Gujarati on 21st January 1896 under the auspices of the Gujarati Dnyan Prasarak Sockit. (Vide my Gujarati "Dnyan Prasarak Essays" Part I, pp. 182-203). Thomas Moore in his *Lala Rookh* has sung the praises of the beauty of Kashmir. He sang

" Who has not heard of the vale of Cashmere
 With its roses the brightest that earth ever gave
 Its temple and grottoes, and fountains as clear
 As the love-lighted eyes that hang o'er their waves "

The study of this poem, after the above visit suggested the subjects of three Readings in Gujarati: one on Thomas Moore's poem of ' The Fire-Worshippers ' on 1st November 1895, the second on that of his " Loves of the Angels " on 30th October 1896, and the third on Voltaire's ' Les Guebres ' on 31st October 1903 (Vide my Gujarati ' Episodes from the Shah nameh '). The first subject forms an episode in Moore's *Lala Rookh*. Thomas Moore was an Irishman and the Irish question is a very old question. In his poem of ' The Fire-Worshippers, ' while picturing the noble fight of one of the flying bands of Zoroastrians after the Arab conquest, he preaches Toleration and Freedom, and it is said, that in preaching and praying for these for the Zoroastrians, he had at the bottom of his heart the question of Toleration and Freedom for his countrymen, the Irish. Thomas Moore's " Fire-Worshippers " in the *Lala Rookh* which speaks of Kashmir, reminds one of " Les Guebres " of Voltaire who, while describing the persecution of some Persians, is said to have aimed at the persecution of the Christian Jansenists and desired toleration for them.

seq and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1880) p 54 ' Such being the case, I think, that I publish in our Journal for the first time, the Inscriptions at Virnag

I will divide my subject under the following heads

I A short account of the rule and visits of Kashmir by the Mogul Emperors

II The Text and the Translation of Jehangir's Inscriptions at Virnag and a few observations on them

III As a supplement to the Paper I will refer to an inscription on a tomb on the Dal Lake

II

I—A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE RULE AND VISITS OF KASHMIR BY THE MOGUL EMPERORS

I will, at first give a short account of the rule and of the visits of Kashmir by the mogul Emperors In this account, I will dwell, at some greater length on the visits of Jehangir because we have to identify the events and dates given in his above inscriptions and to identify the person Haidar named in the second inscription

It is the hand of God that has made Kashmir naturally beautiful but the hand of man has tried to add to its beauty In this matter, the Mogul Emperors of India and among them Jehangir especially had a great hand Among the Mogul Emperors, it was Akbar who first conquered Kashmir and it was Jehangir who first embellished it

Geographically, Kashmir stands, as it were in the middle of three stages (a) In the first stage, down below Kashmir are the vast hot plains of Punjab, Sind and other parts of India (b) The second stage is Kashmir's own, in which it, in a higher region, forms the most beautiful of the beautiful valleys of the world, watered by a river and a number of streams As said by a French writer, there are few valleys more beautiful than this part of Kashmir¹ (c) Then the third stage is that of the higher Himalayan mountains by which it is surrounded on all sides On account of its position near these mountains (daman kuh) it is, as it were, the Indian Piedmont²

In the matter of History also, she can be said to have three periods or stages (a) The first is that which can be called the pre historical period of which its written history, the Rajataran

In 1895, there were no good roads there. A tonga road had just been made upto Bārāmūlā, whence the river Jhelum becomes navigable upwards to Srinagar and further up. Since then, pretty good roads have been made up to Srinagar and in other parts of the country, whereon even motors run now. A railway line is now contemplated. I remember my guide, Rahim, telling me, during my first visit, that no sooner the whistle of a Railway engine will be heard in Kashmir the Behecht (paradise) will fly away from it to the higher mountains. That is quite true. As Mr. Walter del Mar says "Now is the time to visit Kashmir before the amenities of the Kashmir Valley are endangered by the new railway."¹

I had the pleasure of re-visiting Kashmir in June-July 1915. This second visit suggested several subjects of study. One was that of the very interesting people of the country, the Pandits. It formed the subject of my Paper on "The Pandits of Kashmir" before the Anthropological Society of Bombay² on 28th July 1915.³

The present Paper has been suggested to me by some of the Persian inscriptions which I saw in Kashmir during this second visit. It is especially the two inscriptions at the beautiful spring of Vīrnāg that have suggested the subject. I took a copy of them, very little suspecting at the time that they have not been published. I inquired at the time from Mr. Daya Ram Sahani, the head of the Archaeological Department of Kashmir, whether the inscriptions were published and I was told that they were not. To make the matter certain whether I was anticipated by some one I wrote again this year on 3rd May 1917 to Dr. D. B. Spooner of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India to make inquiries if the Vīrnāg inscriptions were published. He kindly forwarded the matter for further inquiry to the officiating Superintendent of Hindu and Buddhist Monuments Lahore Circle. By a coincidence Mr. Daya Ram Sahani happened to be the Superintendent and he wrote to me in his letter dated 22nd June 1917. As far as I know, the inscription in question has not been published properly at any place. Other Persian Inscriptions from Kashmir are published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. XXXIII (1864) pp. 278 et

1 'The Romantic East: Burma, Assam and Kashmir' by Walter del Mar (1906) Preface p. vi.

2 Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay Vol. V, No. 6, pp. 461-2.
3 In my Anthropological Papers Part II.

3 The visit has also been the subject of 19 descriptive letters on Kashmir in the Jam-i-Jamshed of Bombay beginning with two on my visit of the interesting Excavations by Sir John Marshall, the Director of Archaeology Govt. of India at the site of the old city of Taxila near Rawalpindi the last Railway Station whence we start for Kashmir.

seq. and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1880) p 54 ' Such being the case, I think, that I publish in our Journal for the first time, the Inscriptions at Vîrnâg

I will divide my subject under the following heads

I A short account of the rule and visits of Kashmir by the Mogul Emperors

II The Text and the Translation of Jehangîr's Inscriptions at Vîrnâg and a few observations on them

III As a supplement to the Paper I will refer to an inscription on a tomb on the Dâl Lake

II

I — A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE RULE AND VISITS OF KASHMIR BY THE MOGUL EMPERORS.

I will, at first give a short account of the rule and of the visits of Kashmir by the mogul Emperors In this account, I will dwell at some greater length, on the visits of Jehangîr because we have to identify the events and dates given in his above inscriptions, and to identify the person Haidar named in the second inscription

It is the hand of God that has made Kashmir naturally beautiful, but the hand of man has tried to add to its beauty In this matter, the Mogul Emperors of India and among them Jehangîr especially had a great hand Among the Mogul Emperors, it was Akbar who first conquered Kashmir and it was Jehangîr who first embellished it

Geographically, Kashmir stands, as it were in the middle of three stages (a) In the first stage, down below Kashmir are the vast hot plains of Punjab, Sind and other parts of India (b) The second stage is Kashmir's own, in which it, in a higher region, forms the most beautiful of the beautiful valleys of the world, watered by a river and a number of streams As said by a French writer, there are few valleys more beautiful than this part of Kashmir ¹ (c) Then the third stage is that of the higher Himalayan mountains by which it is surrounded on all sides On account of its position near these mountains (damân i kuh) it is, as it were, the Indian Piedmont ²

In the matter of History also, she can be said to have three periods or stages (a) The first is that, which can be called the pre historical period, of which its written history, the Rajataran

gini gives us a little glimpse According to Parsee books and some Mahomedan books of history, the early ancient Irânians had some relations with Kashmir as with northern India Early writers speak of it as a part of India The Pahlavi Bundelesh speaks of Kashmir as a part of India I have spoken before, on this subject, in my paper before the Society, entitled "Cashmere and the Ancient Persians" (b) Its second historical stage or period, and that the most important period, is the one mostly described by the Râjatarangini During this period, we have both, what Sir Francis Younghusband terms "outward effort" and the "inward effort," i.e., attempts on the part of foreigners to invade and occupy Kashmir and the attempts on the part of the Kashmir kings to conquer adjoining countries like Punjab, Tibet and Badakhshân In spite of a number of inglorious pages here and there, it may comparatively be called the golden or the glorious period of its history (c) The last period is that which is subsequent to this second and which extends up to now The Mogul period can be said to belong to the last part of the second or the middle period which was a long extensive period We will give a short bird's eye view of the second period, most of which is principally referred to by the Râjatarangini

III

Sir Francis Younghusband, in his interesting and beautifully illustrated book on Kashmir, while speaking before the Society of its history, says—"A country of Moguls such striking natural beauty must, surely, at some period of its history, have produced a refined and noble people Amid these glorious mountains, breathing their free and bracing air, and brightened by the constant sunshine, there must have sprung a strong virile and yet æsthetic race The beautiful Greece with its purple hills and varied contour, its dancing seas and clear blue sky, produced the graceful Greeks But Kashmir is more beautiful than Greece It has the same blue sky and brilliant sunshine but its purple hills are on a far grander scale, and if it has no sea it has lake and river, and the still more impressive snowy mountains It has, too, great variety of natural scenery of field and forest, of rugged mountain and open valley And to me, who have seen both countries, Kashmir seems much the more likely to impress a race by its natural beauty Has it ever made any such impression?" Sir Francis Younghusband replies that the noted shawls of Kashmir

1 Journal B. B. E. A. XIX pp 23-44. Vol. my Asiatic Papers " Part I, pp. 99-110.

2 Kashmir by F. Younghusband (1909) p. 194

and the remains of its old temples, "remarkable for their almost Egyptian solidity, simplicity and durability, as well as for what Cunningham describes as the graceful elegance of their outlines, the massive boldness of their parts," indicate, that its inhabitants have a sense of form and colour and some delicacy and refinement¹ 'The people that built the ancient temples of Kashmir must have been religious, for the remains are all of temples or of sacred emblems, and not of palaces, commercial offices or hotels, they must have held at least, one large idea to have built on so enduring a scale, and they must have been men of strong and simple tastes averse to the paltry and the florid. What was their history? Were they a purely indigenous race? Were they foreigners and conquerors settled in the land, or were they a native race, much influenced from outside, and with sufficient pliability to assimilate that influence and turn it to profitable use for their own ends?' Younghusband answers this long question, by saying that the race was indigenous, but still it was subject to foreign influence. Though its surrounding lofty mountains acted as a barrier against foreign influence, its natural beauty made up for that barrier, because it attracted foreigners in spite of the difficulty of access.

The Rājataranginī, written by Kalhana in A D 1148 and brought down to later times by additions by Jotraj in 1412 and to still later times by further additions by Shrivar Pandit in 1477, begins the history with a reference to the times of Asoka (about 250 B C), the relics of whose Buddhist temples are still seen in this country. Alexander the Great had invaded India in about 327 B C and his invasion is said to have made some Greek influence on Indian Architecture. Hence it is that we see on old Kashmir temples the influence of Greco Buddhist art. Darius, the great Persian had preceded Alexander and had also left some traces of Iran's Persepolitan influence on Indian Art. Hence it is, that we see some traces, though few on Kashmir buildings, e.g. on the great Martand temple, of the Persepolitan influence. The modern village of Prandirathan, three miles above Srinagar, was the site of the old city founded by Asoka². The name signifies 'old capital' (puranadhishthān).

After Asoka and his heirs there came the Indo Scythians under Kanishka (about A D 40) and his successors, who ruled in the north and even on the north western frontiers of India. This line of kings also was Buddhist, but their Buddhism was

¹ Ibid

² I had the pleasure of visiting the ruin and the present excavations on the site in the agreeable company of Mr. Daya Ram Sahani the superintendent of the Archaeological Department of Kashmir on 18th June 1915.

partly infused with some Zoroastrian ideas, as can be seen from their Indo Scythic coins, which, as showed by Sir Aurel Stein, had the names of Zoroastrian deities on them. Kanishka is said to have held in Kashmir the Third Great Council of the Buddhist Church, which council is said to be the author of 'the Northern Canon' or "the Greater Vehicle of the Law" (Mahâyana, lit. the High or the broad liberal way). Harwan,¹ one of the several beautiful places of Kashmir, at present a site of the Water Works for Srinagar, is spoken of as the seat of a known Buddhâtva, Nagarjuna.

The Buddhism of Asoka and Kanishka was overthrown by Brahmanism. This fact appears from the writings of the Chinese traveller, Hsien Tsang, who, visiting Kashmir in A. D. 631, deplored, that Buddhism was neglected there.

A century later, there was an excursion of the White Huns headed by Mihrcula, who, driven away from India, went to Kashmir, and paying ungratefully the hospitality of the ruler, captured his throne. The name Mihrcula is a Persian name. He is said to have founded the temple and the city of Mihreshwara and Mihrapur. All these names, which are connected with Mihr, the later form of Avestaic Mithra, point to his being one who can be called an Iranian Hun. Râjatarangini condemns him for having introduced in Kashmir, Gandharva Brahmins to supersede the original Hindu Kashmir Brahmins. I have referred to Mihrcula at some length in my paper read last year before the Society on the subject of the Huns.²

Then, we come to a reigning family which belongs to Kashmir itself. Its famous king was Laladitya (A. D. 699 to 736). Not only did he rule Kashmir well, but he conquered adjoining countries such as Punjab, Tibet and Badakhshan. He was the builder of the celebrated temple of Mârtand whose ruins still appear to be grand and majestic. King Avantivarman (A. D. 855 to 893) the founder of Avantipura, whose ruins we still see, was one of his dynasty. A number of weak rulers followed him and there was a good deal of disorder for a number of years.

Then, there came the first invasion of Mahomedans under Mahmud Gaznavi (A. D. 1015) which was unsuccessful. There were dissensions in the family of the ruling dynasty, which had several weak kings till the time of Harsa (1089-1101). By 1339, the Mahomedan power had made great strides in Punjab and in the adjoining country. A Mahomedan ruler, named Shah Mir, deposing the widow of the last ruling Hindu ruler, founded for the first time a Mahomedan dynasty. The kings of this

¹ I had the pleasure of visiting this beautiful spot on 14th June 1912.

² Journal B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXX. No. 3. 1908. Vide my Asiatic Papers Part II.

dynasty were not strong. Disorder and internal struggles continued and the country was no way better than during the last 200 years of disorder and misrule of the Hindu rulers.

Then, there came Zain ul abad din (1420-70), of whom the people still speak as the Padshāh, i.e., the King. He was to Kashmir, what, latter on, Akbar was to the whole of India including Kashmir. He was tolerant to the Hindus so much so, that he contributed money for the repairs of old Hindu temples and for the revival of old Hindu learning. His reign was, as said by YOUNGHUSHAND, 'a mere oasis in the dreary record' of a long line of Mahomedan kings, both those who preceded him and those who followed him till 1532, when Mirza Haidar, at the head of some Turks from the northern regions, conquered Kashmir and ruled for some years. In 1536, Akbar's generals conquered it, and it became a part, as it were of India. The Mogul rule, thus established, continued for about 200 years.

IV

Now, we come to the Moguls, whose taste for art led them to

The Moguls and Kashmir. give a helping hand to beautify Kashmir. It was Jehangir especially who had done a good deal in this matter. The Shāhmar, Nishāt

Virnāg and many other gardens point to this king's handsome work in this line. Bernier, a French physician and traveller, who lived in the 17th century (died A.D. 1688), was in the Court of Aurangzebe for about 12 years & out of which he served as a court physician. He visited Kashmir in the company of a Mogul nobleman named Danishmand who accompanied Aurangzebe. He says that the Moguls considered Kashmir to be the paradise of India. He thus speaks of the beauty of Kashmir, as he saw it in the time of Aurangzebe. I am charmed with Kachemere. In truth the kingdom surpassed in beauty all that my warm imagination had anticipated. It is probably unequalled by any country of the same extent. It is not indeed without reason that the Moguls called Kachemere the terrestrial paradise of the Indies. Jehangir became so enamoured of this little kingdom as to make it a place of his favourite abode and he often declared that he would rather be deprived of every other province of his mighty empire than lose Kachemere.¹

Taimur the ancestor of the Mogul Emperors of India, who had written his auto biography known as Taimur and Kashmir. "Malfuzat-i-Taimuri (ملفوظات تیموری)، the Words or Memoir of Taimur, refers to Kashmir. His memoir is also known as Tuzuk-i-Taimur (تذکرہ تیموری).

¹ Constable's Oriental Miscellany of Original and Selected Publications Vol. I
Lerner & Travels, A.D. 1668 (1668) p. 100-1

نوزی) i.e., the Institutions or Regulations of Taimur. It was written in Turki and then translated into Persian in the reign of Shah Jehân. In these Memoirs, Taimur refers to Kashmir and to the Spring of Virnâg. He says: "I made inquiries about the country and city of Kashmir from men who were acquainted with it and from them I learned that. . . Kashmir is an incomparable country. . . In the midst of the country there is a very large and populous city¹ called Naghaz.² The rulers of the country dwell there. The buildings of the city are very large and are all of wood and they are four or five stories high. They are very strong and will stand for 500 or 700 years. A large river runs through the middle of this city, as large as the Tigris at Baghdad and the city is built upon both sides of it. The source of this river is within the limits of Kashmir in a large lake, some parasangs in length and breadth which is called Virnâk. The inhabitants have cast bridges over the river in nearly thirty places. These are constructed of wood, stone or boats; seven of the largest are within the city and the rest in the environs. When this river passes out of the confines of Kashmir, it is named after each city by which it passes; as the river of Damdana, the river of Jend. The river passes on and joins the Chinab above Multan."³

We find a short account of Kashmir in the Zafar-Nama of Sharaf-ud-Din Yazdî, "which is a very partial biography of Timur written in A. D. 1424. . . and is based upon the *Malfuzât-i-Timuri*."⁴ We read there: "There is a city named Naghaz, which is the residence of the rulers of the country. Like Bagdad, the city has a large river running through it, but the waters of this river exceed those of the Tigris. It is extraordinary that the waters of so great a river all spring from one source, which source is situated in this country itself and is called Vir."⁵

V

It was in the 31st year of his reign (Hijri 993, A. D. 1585) that Akbar invaded Kashmir. He advanced as far as Atak and sent Bhagwan Das, Akbar and Kash-
mir. Shah Kuli Mahran and other well-known Amirs, with about 5,000 horses, to effect the conquest of Kashmir.⁶ They were opposed by Yusuf Khan, the ruler of the country, who came and blockaded the pass. The above generals resolved to make peace. They settled that Yusuf

¹ I think it is a corruption of Nagar, the usual Persian, (r) being by mistake written with a nukta as (z). This name Nagar then is a contraction of Sri nagar (Cf. Nagar for Ahmednagar).

² Ibid. II, p. 478.

³ Ibid. V p. 450.

⁴ Elliot's History of India, Vol. II, p. 476.

⁵ Ibid. p. 622.

may pay some tribute to Akbar in saffron, shawls and some money Akbar disapproved of the terms of peace and at first was angry with his generals but he afterwards admitted them into his audience¹ Akbar then sent Kasim Khan Mirhahr to conquer Kashmir Owing to the dissensions among the Kashmiris the task of conquest was easy

Akbar took Kashmir in A. D. 1586 and visited it three times During one of these visits he directed the fort of Hari Parhat to be built His son Jehangir completed it We read as follows in the *Tahakāt-i Akbari* The rulers of Kashmir had always been well wishers and servants of the Imperial house His Majesty now intended after performing his usual pilgrimage to Ajmere, to pay a visit to the tomb of Saikh Farid Shahr-ganj and to visit the Panjab So he sent Mulla Ishki, one of the old servants of the Court, along with Kazi Sadru'd-din, to Kashmir Altkhan the ruler of Kashmir, entertained them nobly and respectfully and exhibited his fidelity and devotion²

Akbar then paid a running visit to Kashmir in 1589 (Hijri 997) when on his way to Kabul Leaving the ladies of the Court on this side of the mountains of Kashmir, he 'went on express'³ In 1592, he paid another visit On his way thither he heard that Yādgār, a nephew of Yusuf Khān Ruzāi his governor of Kashmir had raised the standard of revolt and declared himself as the Sultan Thus rebellion was put down and Yādgār was killed before Akbar reached the capital We read in the *Tahakāt-i Akbari*, that he "stayed there eight days, riding about and hunting water fowl" On his return journey, embark-
 ang in a boat he proceeded towards Baramula on the confines of Kashmir on the way to Pakhal On the road he saw a reservoir called Zain lanka This reservoir is enclosed on the west north and south by mountains and it is thirty ko⁴ in circumference⁴ The river Bahut (Jilam) passes through this lake Its water is very pure and deep Sultan Zain ul Abidin carried out a pier of stone to the distance of one *jarib* into the lake and upon it erected a high building Nothing like this lake and building is to be found in India⁵ After visiting this edifice he went to Baramula⁶ In all Akbar paid three visits to Kashmir⁷

1 Ibid p 453.

2 Ibid Vol V p 411

3 Ibid Vol V p 457

4 This reservoir is now known as Wular Lake which is said to be the largest lake in India.

5 Udaipur in Mewar (Rajputana) is spoken of by some as the Kashmir of Rajputana. There we see beautiful artificial lakes In the midst of one of these we find some handsome royal buildings. These may be an imitation of the above building in the Wular Lake

6 Elliot V p 465.

7 *Ain-i Akbari* Jarret's Translation II p 348.

Akbar had divided his Empire into divisions called Subahs. Each Subah was known from the name of the tract of the country or its capital city. Kashmir as described in the Ain-i-Akbari. Latterly when Berar, Khandesh and Ahmednagar were conquered there were in all 15 Subahs. Each Subah was subdivided into Sarkars. There were in all 10,000 Sarkars. Each Sarkar was divided into parganahs or Mahals. All the Sarkars were subdivided into 2,737 townships. The Subahs were spoken of as being in such and such a climate. The term climate meant a slope or inclination and was used in the mathematical geography of the Greeks with reference to the inclination of various parts of the earth's surface to the plane of the equator. Before the globular figure of the earth was known it was supposed that there was a general slope of its surface from South to North, and this was called 'Lima'. But as the science of mathematical geography advanced the world was applied to belts of the earth's surface divided by lines parallel to the equator, these lines being determined by the different lengths at different places of the shadow cast by a gnomon of the same altitude at noon of the same day. The Arabs adopted this system but restricted the number to seven. The Arabs seem to have followed the ancient Iranians who had *haft Lehwars* : i.e. seven regions or climates. In our inscriptions Jehangir is spoken of as the king of these seven regions. Kashmir belonged to the Subah of Kabul which comprised Kashmir Pakh Binbar Swat Bajaur Kandahar and Zabulistan. The capital of this Subah was Kabul. Kashmir lies in the 3rd and 4th climates. Of the several routes leading to this country encompassed on all sides by the Himalayan ranges the Pir Pungal route was the one adopted by Akbar in his three visits to the rose garden of Kashmir.³

Abul Fazl the great historian of Akbar thus speaks of Kashmir. The country is enchanting and might be fittingly called a garden of perpetual spring surrounding a citadel terraced to the skies and deservedly appropriate to be either the delight of the worldling or the retired abode of the recluse. Its streams are sweet to the taste its waterfalls music to the ear and its climate is invigorating. The lands are artificially watered or dependent on rain for irrigation. The flowers are enchanting and fill the heart with delight. Violets the red rose and wild narcissus.

1. Ain-i-Akbari, Bk. III, Imperial Adm. & Govt. on Jerr. & Trans. p. 151.
Vol. II, p. 112.

* Ibid. p. 112, n. 4.

Ib. II, p. 34.

cover the plains To enumerate its flora would be impossible Its spring and autumn are extremely beautiful . . Tulips are grown on the roofs which present a lovely sight in the spring time ”¹

Abdul Fazl thus describes the Vernāg spring : “ In the Ver tract of the country is the source of the Behat. The Vernāg spring, described It is a pool measuring a *jarib* which tosses in in the Ain Akbari foam with an astonishing roar and its depth is unfathomable It goes by the name of Vernāg and is surrounded by a stone embankment and to its east are temples of stone ”²

VI

JEHANGIR'S VISITS OF KASHMIR

Now we come to the reign of Jehangir We will speak of his connection with Kashmir at some length, because he had a great hand in beautifying Kashmir, and because we have to explain and identify the events and dates referred to in his inscriptions In his work of beautifying Kashmir by laying gardens at various beautiful places, Jehangir was ably assisted by his Nur Mahāl We know that this queen had great influence upon Jehangir in various matters even in state matters³

Kailāsa, the author of the *Rajataranginī*, while speaking of Kashmir's beauty, says ‘ It is a country where the sun shines mildly, being the place created by Kashyapa as if for his glory. High school houses, the saffron iced water and grapes which are rare even in Heaven are common here Kailāsa is the best place in the three worlds, Himalaya the best part of Kailāsa, and Kashmir the best part in Himalaya ’⁴ The Kashmiris speak of their country as ‘ an emerald set in pearls a land of lakes, clear streams, green turf, magnificent trees and mighty mountains, where the air is cool and the water sweet where men are strong and women vie with the soil in fruitfulness ’⁵

Bernier says of the Dal Lake of Kashmir as he saw it later on beautified at the hand of Jehangir that it ‘ is one of the most beautiful spots in the world Perhaps in the whole world

¹ Ain-i-Akbari Jarrett's Translation Vol. II pp 318-19

² The Ain-i-Akbari Jarrett's Translation Vol. II p 361

³ She had a powerful hand in helping the cause of Sir Thomas Roe the first English ambassador at the Court of Jehangir Roe was so much helped and supported by Nur Mahāl, that he wrote from Jehangir's Court to 11 people at Surat Noor Mahāl's son solicitor and her brother my broker (Early English Adventurer in the East by Arnold Wright 1911 p 163)

⁴ As quoted by Sir W. Lawrence

⁵ Ibid

"there is no corner so pleasant as the Dal Lake" Of the very beautiful lake of Manasbal, Sir R. Younghusband¹ says that it is "a jewel among the mountains" I was pleased with no lake of Kashmir so much as with this beautiful gem. Moving about in your boat in the calm and clear water of this lake, you feel, as if you see beautiful pictures moving in a cinematograph before you.

Kashmir as described by these writers, old and modern, was beautiful and Jehangir vied with Nature to make it more beautiful. In his memoirs, he often spoke of Kashmir as "*Behesht nazir Kashmir*" (بهشت نظیر کشمیر) i.e., the paradise like Kashmir. At times, he spoke of it as *delpazir* (دلپذیر)² Kashmir, i.e., heart ravishing Kashmir.

In connection with Jehangir's detailed admiring description of the beauties of Kashmir and of its estimate of the various flowers, one may notice what Mr. Beveridge says of the scientific tastes of the Emperor. "If Babur, who was the founder of the Mogul Empire in India, was the Cæsar of the East, and if the many-sided Akbar was the epitome of all the great Emperors, including Augustus, Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Julian, and Justinian, Jahangir was certainly of the type of the Emperor Claudius and so bore a close resemblance to our James I. All three were weak men, and under the influence of their favourites, and all three were literary, and at least two of them were fond of dabbling in theology. All three were wrong in their places as rulers. Had James I. (and VI. of Scotland) been, as he half wished, the Keeper of the Bodleian, and Jahangir head of a Natural History Museum, they would have been better and happier men. Jahangir's best points were his love of nature and powers of observation, and his desire to do justice."³

Jehangir had paid, in all, six visits to Kashmir, two of which were in the company of his father Akbar and four during his own reign. We will briefly refer to these visits as described by him in his Memoirs. This description will give us an idea, not only of his tastes and of his love of Nature, but also of his admiration for Vernag, where we find his two inscriptions which have suggested to me the subject of this paper. At first, we will speak of his impressions about Vernag, as formed during his visits in the life time of his father Akbar.

¹ Kashmir by Younghusband, p. 37.

² Vide the *اقبال نامہ جہانگیری* the 1864 edition of the Asiatic Society of Bengal pp. 213, 210 &c. ³ Ibid. p. 213.

⁴ The Tuzak-i-Jahangiri Vol. II, Preface pp. V-VI.

Jehangir came to the throne on 24th October 1605 (1014-
Hijri) at the age of 38. In the second year
of his reign, he went to Kābul. While
describing his journey to that city in his
Memoirs he refers to the river Bihat, i.e., the
Jhelam on the banks of which he had pitched
his tents. The mention of Jhelam makes him speak of Vernāg,
the source of the river Jhelam. He thus describes Vernāg :

"The source of the Bihat is a spring in Kashmir called the
Vir nāg, in the language of India a snake is Vir oṅg. Clearly
there had been a large snake at that place. I went twice to the
spring in my father's lifetime, it is 20 kos from the city of Kash-
mir. It is an octagonal reservoir about 20 yards by 20. Near
it are the remains of a place of worship for recluses, cells cut
out of the rock and numerous caves. The water is exceedingly
pure. Although I could not guess its depth, a gram of poppy
seed is visible until it touches the bottom. There were many
fish to be seen in it. As I had heard that it was unfathomable,
I ordered them to throw in a cord with a stone attached, and
when this cord was measured in *gaz* it became evident that the
depth was not more than once and a half the height of a man.
After my accession, I ordered them to build the sides of the
spring round with stone, and they made a garden round it with
a canal, and built halls and houses about it and made a
place such that travellers over the world can point out few
like it."

We learn from this passage, that Vernāg was a favourite
place of Jehangir and that he had been twice there during his
father's time. We learn further, that after his accession to the
throne, he had ordered the sides of the tank to be built up
with stone and a garden to be made near the place. The first
inscription, when it speaks of the order of His Majesty (حكم
آن حضرت), seems to refer to the order mentioned in the above
passage. During my first visit of Kashmir in 1895, I had passed
one night in one of the houses over the spring referred to
by Jehangir in the above passage. Since then, the building
has been destroyed by fire, and, during my second visit
on 30th June 1915, we had to pass the day in the adjoining
garden under the shady *chinars*, and the night in the
pavilion over the main canal, the *jui* or *āb shār*, referred to in
the inscription.

1 The *Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri*, or *Memoirs of Jehangir*, translated by A. Rogers edited
by H. Beveridge (1909), Vol. 1, p. 92.

Jehangir visited Kashmir in the 15th year of his reign. He gives a rather extensive account of it in his Memoirs. The thought of visiting Kashmir occurred to him in the 14th year of his reign (1619-20). He thus speaks of this first thought

As the purpose of visiting the eternal spring of the rose garden of Kashmir was settled in my mind I sent off Nur-d-din Quli to hasten on before to repair as far as was possible the ups and downs of the Punch route to it and to prepare it so that the passage of laden beasts over difficult hill tops might be accomplished with ease and that the men should not undergo labour and hardship. A large number of artificers such as stone cutters carpenters spademen etc. were dispatched with him to whom an elephant was also given. I will give here a short account of this visit as given in his Memoirs because we learn therefrom Jehangir's impressions of the beauty of Kashmir and of its interesting place and features.

Jehangir started for Kashmir at the end of the 14th year of his reign. He celebrated the Naoroz of the 15th year (10th March 1620 the 1st of Farvardin) on the banks of the river Krishan Ganga. In some of the mountainous tracts of this country it is often difficult to find a flat place for a camp. So Jehangir notes with special satisfaction the fact of a proper place being found by chance. He says "On the top of this (a ridge overlooking the water green and pleasant) was a flat place of 50 cubits which one might say the rulers of fate had specially prepared for such a day. The aforesaid officer (Mu-tamid Khan) had made ready everything necessary for the New Year's feast on the top of that ridge which was much approved. Mu-tamid Khan was much applauded for this. The 15th year of the reign of this suppliant at the throne of Allah commenced happily and auspiciously.

On coming to Baramula he was told that in the Hindi language they call a boar *Bārah* (Varaha) and *mula* a place—that is the boar's place. Among the incarnations that belong to the religion of the Hindus one is the boar incarnation and Barah-mulâ by constant use has become Bara-mûla.³ On the road up the king and the court ladies were overtaken by a snow storm. An officer of his court was drowned while bathing in the river. The king describes a *Zar-pa* or a rope bridge

1 The Tuzuk-i-Jehangir by Ro-s and Beveridge, Vol II, 1914, pp. 9-28.
The Tuzuk-i-Jehangir Vol II, 1-3.

3 Ibid. pp. 130-31.

which a traveller even now sees occasionally on the river. During my first visit, I tried to walk over one, but soon got nervous and could not go over it for more than a few feet. It is made up of three ropes. On one, which is the lower one, they walk, holding in their hands the other two which are higher up. These ropes are tied with two big strong trees on the banks. Only one man can walk at a time, and nervous travellers are carried blindfolded by an experienced footman on his shoulder.¹

Of the beauty of the country higher up, Jehangir says: 'It was broad, and plain after plain, and mead after mead of flowers. Sweet smelling plants of narcissus, violet and strange flowers that grow in this country, came to view . . . The flowers of Kashmir are beyond counting and calculation. Which shall I write of? And how many can I describe?'² Later on, he again says of the flowers, that "the flowers that are seen in the territories of Kashmir are beyond all calculation."³ Travelling onward by boat, Jehangir came to the capital, and landed on that bank of the Dal, where on the Hari Parbat hill, his father Akbar had directed the construction of a fort. The fort begun by Akbar was completed by Jehangir. The king took 168 days to travel from Agra to Kashmir, a distance of 376 kos. There were 102 marches and 63 halts.⁴

Jehangir then refers to the Râja tarang (Rajataranginî) which his father had got translated from the Sanskrit into Persian. He then takes a note in his account of his arrival at the capital of Kashmir, that it was in Hijri 712 (A. D. 1312-13) that Kashmir was first illumined by the religion of Islam. Thirty-two Mahomedan princes reigned over it for 282 years until in 994 (1586) my father conquered it.⁵ He then got a survey made of the country in order to ascertain the length and the breadth of the valley. The length was found to be about 67 kos⁶ and the breadth from 10 to 25 kos.

While describing the capital, the city of Srinagar, Jehangir thus refers to Virnâg the inscription of which forms a part of the subject of this Paper — "The name of the city is Srinagar, and the Bihat river flows through the midst of it. They call its fountain head Vir nâg. It is 14 kos to the south. By my

¹ Vide *Ibid* p. 157 for the description by Jehangir.

² *Ibid* p. 134.

³ *Ibid* p. 145.

⁴ *Ibid* i. 179.

⁵ *Ibid*, ii. p. 140.

⁶ or 66 kos. "The boundary of a country is the place up to which people speak the language of that country." A kos equal to 1500 yards. Each yard was equal to two shari (part) each of which again was 4 digits or angulas, 40 angulas made one *hast* (palm) . . .

order they have made a building and a garden at that source,'¹ Jehangir makes a longer mention of Varnag in another part of his Memoirs

We have referred above to Jehangir's admiration of Kashmir's beauty and of its flowers. He thus speaks of it further on 'Kashmir is a garden of eternal spring or an iron fort to a palace of kings—a delightful flower bed and a heart expanding heritage for dervishes. Its pleasant meads and enchanting cascades are beyond all description. There are running streams and fountains beyond count. Wherever the eye reaches there are verdure and running water. The red rose the violet and the narcissus grow of themselves, in the fields there are all kinds of flowers and all sorts of sweet scented herbs more than can be calculated. In the soul enchanting spring the hills and plains are filled with blossoms the gates the wall the courts the roofs are lighted up by the torches of hanging adorning tulips. What shall we say of these things or of the wide meadows (*julgalā*) and the fragrant trefoil? The finest inflorescence is that of the almond and the peach. Outside the hill country the commencement of blossoming is the first Isfandirmuz (February 10). In the territory of Kashmir it is the first Farvardin (March 10) and in the city gardens it is the 9th and 10th of that month and the end of their blooming joins on to the commencement of that of the blue jessamine. In attendance on my revered father I frequently went round the saffron fields and beheld the spectacle of the autumn. Thank God that on this occasion I beheld the beauties of the spring."

Jehangir then describes at some length the buildings of Kashmir and its various products—fruits silk wine vegetables grains oils animals shawls cloths dress ways of travelling and music. What travellers observe now about the cleanliness of the people was observed by Jehangir about 400 years ago. He says 'Although most of the houses are on the river bank not a drop of water touches their bodies. In short they are as dirty outside as inside without any cleanliness.'

Proceeding further one sees in Jehangir's Memoirs a somewhat detailed description of the fort of Hari Parbat and the garden attached to it which he named *Awrafā* i.e. light increasing.⁴

¹ Ibid II pp 141-14

² The Purak by J. G. R. Beveridge II pp 113-11

³ Ibid p 144

⁴ Ibid pp 140-1

Kashmir was known to the ancient Persians as a country of good astrologers Firdousi refers to this fact¹ Jehangir, in his present account of Kashmir, describes an accident, that happened to his child Shuja, which shows his faith in astrology² The child, while playing in one of the palace buildings on the Dâl lake, fell out of a window from a height of 7 yards, but was fortunately saved by having fallen on a carpet below and on a carpet spreader who was sitting there In connection with this event Jehangir says. "A strange thing was that three or four months before this event Jotik Rây, the astrologer, who is one of the most skilled of the class in astrology, had represented to me without any intermediary, that it was predicted from the Prince's horoscope that these three or four months were unpropitious to him, and it was possible he might fall down from some high place, but that the dust of calamity would not settle on the skirt of his life As his prognostications had repeatedly proved correct, this dread dwelt in my mind, and on these dangerous roads and difficult mountain passes I was never for a moment forgetful of that nursing of the *parterre* of Fortune I continually kept him in sight, and took the greatest precautions with regard to him When I arrived in Kashmir this unavoidable catastrophe occurred God be praised that it ended well"³ Further on, we find the following instance of Jehangir's faith in astrology "Pâdshâh Bânû Begam died

A strange thing is, that Jotik Ray, the astrologer two months before this, had informed some of my servants that one of the chief sitters in the harem of chastity would hasten to the hidden abode of non existence He had discovered this from the horoscope of my destiny and it fell out accordingly"⁴

What Jehangir says of the enormous bulk of a plane tree (*chinar*) in Kashmir is worth noting The huge shady *Chinar* trees are the beauty of Kashmir I saw, both during my first visit and the second one (3rd June 1915) a *chinar* at Sumbal, which, I

¹ M. Moid Le Livre des Rois Vol. IV, p. 14. See Heditz, Vol. IV, p. 16.

مقارن شاسان و کند آوران
بر کشمیر و کابل کزنده سوان
بر کشمیر و کابل کزنده سوان

(Necras's Calcutta edn. n. V. I. III, 1230)

² Tuzik by Rogers and Beveridge II, p. 131

³ Ibid. pp. 159-60

⁴ The Mogul Emperors are said to have further spread the planting of *chinar* in Kashmir. The *chinar* were held in reverence in Persia. Vide my paper on "The Veneration paid to the plane tree in Persia, in the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay Vol. VI No. 8. Vik. y Anthropological papers Part I. 1: 200-207

think could easily give to a family of 7 or more persons sleeping accommodation on the ground within its hollow trunk which was eaten away and hollowed by age. I saw another big *chinar* tree (26 June 1916) at Bijnāra on the way to Islamabad. It bears a tablet saying '74 feet circumference at G (ground) Level'. But the plane (*chinar*) tree which Jhangir describes was larger than this. He says "In the village of Rawalpur, 2½ kos from the city towards Hindustan, there is a plane tree burnt in the inside. Twenty five years before this when I myself was riding on a horse with five other saddled horses and two eunuchs we went inside it. Whenever I had chanced to mention this, people were surprised. This time I again ordered some of the men to go inside and what I had in my mind came to pass in the same manner. It has been noted in the Akbar nama that my father took thirty four people inside and made them stand close to each other. Jhangir later on refers to a place known as Panj Brara and to the large *chinar* trees there. He says "In the neighbourhood of Panj Brara there is a meadow (*guila*) exceedingly clean and pleasant with seven lofty plane trees in the middle of it and a stream of the river flowing round it. The Kashmiris call it Sath Bhūh. It is one of the great resorts of Kashmir. This Panj Brara is the modern Bijnāra and I think the big plane trees referred to by Jhangir are of the spot referred to by me above. It is still one of the picturesque spots of Kashmir.

Jhangir had further beautified the place of Shalamar which was beautiful in itself. We read as follows in his Tuzuk in his account of the fort of Hari Parbat built by his father. I frequently embarked in a boat and was delighted to go round and look at the flowers of Phak and Shalamar. Phak is the name of a pargana situated on the other side of the lake (Dal). Shalamar is near the lake. It has a pleasant stream which comes down from the hills and flows into the Dal Lake. I bade my son Khurram dam it up and make a waterfall which it would be a pleasure to behold. This place is one of the sights of Kashmir. Shalamar is still a sight of Kashmir. It was not in so good an order when I first visited it about 20 years ago. But now the present Maharaja Sahib has improved the surroundings by a beautiful garden. Once a week all the fountains—and they are numerous—are made to play and people from the city of Srinagar visit it during the afternoon. They generally go by boats but there is also a fine road passing through pleasant beautiful surroundings.

We see in the following passage, Jehangir's desire that one should have his own fruit-garden. While speaking of the *shâh-âlû*, i.e., cherries of Kashmir, he says: "Every day I plucked with my own hand sufficient to give a flavour to my cups. Although they sent them by runners from Kahul as well, yet to pick them oneself from one's home garden gave additional sweetness. The *shâh-âlû* of Kashmir is not inferior to that of Kahul; it is even better grown. The largest of them weighed one *tânk*: five *sirkhs*."¹ We learn, from what Jehangir says further on, that it was he who ordered the further cultivation of this fruit in Kashmir. He says: "I strictly ordered the officials of Kashmir to plant *shâh-âlû* (cherry) trees in all the gardens."²

Jehangir says: "The picture-gallery in the garden had been ordered to be repaired; it was now adorned with pictures by master hands. In the most honoured positions were the likenesses of Humâyûn and of my father oppositely to my own, and that of my brother Shah Abbâs. . . ."

Kashmir has several beautiful places known as *margs* or meadows, such as Sonâ-marg, Gul-marg, Kailân-marg. I had the pleasure of seeing the last two (7th to 13th July 1915). These soft grassy meadows are covered, especially in the spring with various little flowers. They are situated on higher mountains at some distance from the capital city and people go there during the summer. Jehangir thus speaks of one of them: "I rode to see the summer quarters of Tûsi-marg.³ Arriving in two marches at the foot of the *Kotal* I reached the top of the pass. For a distance of 2 *los* very elevated ground was crossed with difficulty. From the top of the *Kotal* to the *Ilûq* (summer quarters) was another *los* of high and low land. Although here and there flowers of various colours had bloomed, yet I did not see so many as they had represented to me, and as I had expected. I heard that in this neighbourhood there was a very beautiful valley, and . . . I went to see it. Undoubtedly, whatever praise they might use in speaking of that flowery land would be permissible. As far as the eye reached flowers of all colours were blooming. There were picked fifty kinds of flowers in my presence. Probably there were others that I did not see."⁴ Of the *Ilûq* of Kûri-marg⁵

¹ Ibid. i. 153.² Ibid. p. 162.³ Ibid. pp. 161-162.⁴ "The place is the Tush Station of Lawrence, 16" Ibid. p. 163, n. 1.⁵ Ibid. ii. 162-163.⁶ "Guram Valley of Lawrence 15" Ibid. p. 161 n. 2.

he writes How shall I write its praise ? As far as the eye could reach flowers of various hue were blooming and in the midst of the flowers and verdure beautiful streams of water were flowing one might say that it was a page that the painter of destiny had drawn with the pencil of creation. The buds of hearts break into flowers from beholding it. Undoubtedly there is no comparison between this and other Haqs and it may be said to be the place most worth seeing in Kashmir ¹

In his tour towards the celebrated stream of Varnag Machhi Bhavan Jehangir stayed at Machhi Bhavan so called and Achval (Achi perhaps because it contains even now a number of fish. I remember the noon of 27th June 1915 when I paid a second visit to the temple and entertained its fish with the delicious Bhavan bread sold there for the purpose. A play with the fish is enjoyable. I remember having a hasty standing breakfast there on a picturesque shady spot opposite the temple on the side of the stream running from behind the temple. Perhaps it is the very spot which Jehangir refers to in his Memoirs. He says. There is a fountain that they called Machhi Bhawan above which Ray Bihari Chand one of the servants of my father built an idol temple. The beauty of this spring is more than one can describe and large trees of ancient years planes white and black poplars have grown up round it. I passed the night at this place ²

I may say here a word of warning to modern tourists lest what they see at the above spot at the time of their visit may disappoint them and lead them to think that the Mogul Emperor's description of the beauty was an exaggeration. The trees are grand shady and beautiful. The springs are beautiful. The air is bracing. But at times the ground is not kept well-cleaned. When royal personages and grantees go there the place also is kept scrupulously clean. So no doubt perhaps a modern tourist who sees at present some dirt and filth in the midst of beauty may at times consider Jehangir's description a little exaggerating.

From Machhi Bhavan Jehangir went to the spring of Achival of which he speaks as Achval. Jehangir says. The water of this spring is more plentiful than that of the other (Machhi Bhawan) and it has a fine waterfall. Around it lofty plane trees and graceful white poplars bringing their heads together have made enchanting places to sit in. As far as one could see in a beautiful garden *Jasari* flowers had bloomed so that one might say it was a piece of Paradise ³

From Achihal, Jehangir went to Virnâg. He says :¹ "I pitched The Spring of camp near the fountain of Virnâg. . . Virnâg. The feast of cups was prepared at the spring. I gave my private attendants permission to sit down. Filling brimming cups, I gave them Kabul peaches as a relish and in the evening they returned drunk to their abodes. This spring is the source of the river Bihat and is situated at the foot of a hill, the soil of which, from the abundance of trees and the extent of green and grass, is not seen. When I was a prince, I had given an order that they should erect a building at this spring suitable to the place. It was now² completed. There was a reservoir of an octagonal shape, forty-two yards in area and fourteen gaz in depth. Its water, from the reflection of the grass and plants on the hill, had assumed a hue of verdure. Many fish swam in it, round it, halls with domes had been erected, and there was a garden in front of them. From the edge of the pond to the gate of the garden there was a canal 4 gaz in width and 180 gaz in length and 2 gaz in depth. Round the reservoir was a stone walk (*Khiyâbân-i-sang*). The water of the reservoir was so clear that, notwithstanding its 4 gaz of depth, if a pea had fallen into it, it could have been seen."

"Of the trimness of the canal and the verdure of the grass that grew below the fountain, what can one write? Various sorts of plants and sweet-smelling herbs grew there in profusion, and among them was seen a stem, which had exactly the appearance of the variegated tail of a peacock. It waved about in the ripple and bore flowers here and there. In short, in the whole of Kashmir there is no sight of such beauty and enchanting character. It appears to me that what is up stream in Kashmir (i.e., in the upper part of Kashmir) bears no comparison with (i.e., is far superior to) what is down stream. One should stay some days in these regions and go round them so as to enjoy oneself thoroughly. . . I gave an order that plane-trees should be planted on both sides, on the banks of the canal above-mentioned."

I have quoted at some length this rather long description of Virnâg from Jehangir's Memoirs, because, it is this visit of the 15th year of his reign, that the Inscription, which forms a part of the subject of my Paper, commemorates. Again, it is in the above passage, that Jehangir refers to his orders for the erection of the buildings, &c., where the inscriptions stand: "When I was a prince, I had given an order that they should erect a building at this spring suitable to the place. It

¹ Ibid. pp. 173-74

² In the 15th year of his reign, Hûrî 1029, i.e., A.D. 1620

about five miles distant known as Pandar Sandhya where in the months of Vaishakh and Jaith water alternately rushes forth once every hour and then stops altogether for the next hour

From Virnag Jehangir went to Lake Bhawan a spring on a pleasant spot and thence to Andha Pampûr Nig which contained blind (andha) fish and thence by the road of the springs of Machlu Bhawan and Inch back to Srinagar After a stay at the city he went on an autumn tour in the direction of Safapur and the valley of Lar On the 27th of the Divine (Ilahi) month of Meher the royal standards were raised to return to Hindustan In this return journey as the saffron had blossomed Jehangir visited the saffron fields at Pampur In the whole country of Kashmir there is saffron only in this place The feast of cups was held in a saffron field Groves on groves and plains on plains were in bloom The breeze in that place scented one's brain ¹ The cultivators of the saffron took their wages in half the weight of the saffron in salt which was not produced in Kashmir but was brought from India ²

In his account of Pampur Jehangir speaks of the *kalgi*, i.e. the plumes or feathers as one of the excellencies of Kashmir He also refers to an order to build houses or what are now called Travellers Bungalows at each stage in Kashmir to accommodate his royal party He then refers to a waterfall in the neighbourhood of Hirapur He says What can be written in its praise? The water pours down in three or four gradations I had never seen such a beautiful waterfall Without hesitation it is a sight to be seen very strange and wonderful I passed the time there in enjoyment till the third watch of the day and filled my eye and heart with the sight ³

Jehangir paid a second visit to Kashmir during the 22nd year

Jehangir's second of his reign It seems that he had formed a visit of Kashmir as the intention of going there in the 18th year Emperor in 1624 commencing with 10th March 1623 He says in his Tuzuk in the account of this year As I was at ease

¹ Ibid p 177

² Vide *Journal Bengal Asiatic Socy* Vol XXXIII p 9 et seq. Therein, Rev J Owen Thacker gives an article entitled Some Persian Manuscripts found in Brinagar Kashmir In that article an inscription on the Jami Masjid contains a *firman* of Shah Jahan which contains the following order At the time of collecting the saffron, men used to be impressed for this work without any wages except a little salt and hence the people are suffering much distress We ordered that no man should by any means be molested as to gathering the saffron and as to saffron grown in crown lands the labourers must be satisfied and receive proper wages and all the labourers on lands granted in jagir let the whole saffron in kind be delivered to the *Jagirdar* that he may gather it as he likes

³ Ibid p 12

with regard to the affair of Bidāulat¹ and the heat of Hindustan did not agree with my constitution on the second of the month corresponding with the 1st of Safar (1 Safar 1033 H = c., 14th November 1623) my camp started from Ajmer for a tour and to hunt in the pleasant regions of Kashmir²

We have no account of this visit of Kashmir in Jehangir's Tuzuk or Memoirs which are translated and edited by Rogers and Beveridge. They extend only up to a part of the 19th year of his reign. Elliot's quotations from other sources also are not sufficient. So we have to resort to the original Persian of the Iqbal nāmeḥ for reference to this and the subsequent visits.

He arrived at Kashmir on the 19th of Khordād of the 19th year of his reign when Istakād Khān presented to His Majesty some delicacies of Kashmir³. On the 1st of the month Shahrivar, Jehangir was at Virmāg. In this account of the visit he speaks of this stream as 'the source of the river Bihāt (Jhelum)' and as "sonl ravishing place of delight and a house of pleasure of Kashmir (سیرگاہای جانبرای تربت مرای کشمیر)⁴

The author says that he does not give a description of this place as it has been already given before. From Virmāg he started on the 5th of Shahrivar for Lahore.

In the beginning of the 20th year of his reign which fell on Jehangir's third 10th March 1624 he paid another visit to visit of Kashmir Kashmir of which he speaks as the garden of roses and the (seat of) perpetual

spring (گلزار ہمیشہ بهار کشمیر)⁵. He says that as the Pass (کسطل) of Pir Panjal was covered with snow having hunted at Bhimhar he entered Kashmir by way of the lower hills of Punch (کروٹ پونج) or Punj. He describes at some length the beautiful flowers he saw there and in this description gives a proof of his knowledge taste and fondness of flowers. In the account of the different flowers he says of one species that it grows so large that it cannot be contained in both the hands joined together (گلش بهر مرتبه کلاں میشود که در دو دست نگیرد). Of the oranges of this mountainous place (Punch) he says that they remain on the trees for two or three years and a tree gives

1 From the time Shal-Jahan rebelled against his father Jehangir the latter spoke of him as the Bi-daulat i.e., the unfortunate.

2 Tuzuk i-Jehangiri by Rogers-Beveridge II., p. 282. Vide the Iqbal nameḥ, Bengal Asiatic Society's Text of 1863, p. 1.

3 Iqbal nameḥ p. 224 ll. 20 et seq. Bengal Asiatic Society's edition of 1863.

4 Ibid. p. 229 l. 8.

5 Iqbal nameḥ p. 210, l. 12.

1,000 oranges. From Baramula, the royal party got into boats and went to the paradise-like (پشت آگین) Kashmir. We find the following couplet in praise of the beautiful place:—

ناز این چهر جوانی و جمالست چهارا
زین حال که نوگشت زمین را و زمانرا

i.e., "what is this new youth and beauty for this world, resulting from this new condition accrued to the land and time?" The beautiful lines cannot be well rendered into English. What is meant is this: The sight of the beautiful place gives, as it were, youth and beauty to the beholders. Both, Space and Time, get, as it were, refreshed.

Kashmir is known for its saffron, and they said, that the eating of it produced laughter. So, to verify this Experiments on saffron and birds, belief, Jehangir sent for, from the prison, a criminal who was condemned to death for theft (دزد کشنی) and gave him to eat one-fourth of a *sir* equal to 40 *miskals*. It produced no laughter. Next day, double the quantity was given, but that also had no effect. The king thus proved that the common belief was wrong.

During this visit, Jehangir tried to verify what he had heard of a bird known on the mountain of Pir Panjal as *Homai* (هَمای or هَمای). The people of Kashmir said, that it lived only on bones, and is always seen in the air and very little on the ground. The king offered a prize of Rs. 500 to any hunter who would shoot a bird of that kind and bring it to the royal court. Ono Jamal Khân brought it alive, having shot it merely on one of its legs. The king ordered its crop, i.e., the food-receptacle to be brought out, so that it may be discovered what food it ate. The crop was opened and bone particles were found in it. The mountaineers explained to the king, that it always flew in the air, looking to the ground. Wherever it saw a bone, it came down and lifting it up in its beak, went high up into the air again. From there, it threw, the bone on strong ground. The bone, falling on a stone, broke into small pieces which it then picked up and ate. It is generally believed that this bird *Homai* is the well-known bird *Homâr* (pelican or royal eagle), which is believed to be very auspicious. It is lucky for a man, if the *Homâi* flies over his head. The following couplet is quoted on the subject:

هَمای هر چه مرغیان ارباب تشریف دارد
که امشظوان خورد و حایور نبارارد

i.e., "Homai holds dignity over all birds, because it eats bones and hurts no animals." In strength and form, this bird is like an eagle (عقاب). The above referred to bird weighed 1037½ *miskals*

Jehangir paid another visit to Kashmir in the 22nd year of his reign. He started for it at the end of the 21st and last visit to year on the 21st of the Afandârmaz. His Kashmir in 1626 Iqbal nameh says that this visit was compulsory not voluntary (امطرارست نه اختيارى). Want of good health necessitated a change to Kashmir the paradise like land of roses the land of perpetual spring (گلزار بهشت). (رشد بهشت) the envy of paradise (بهار کشمیر فردوس نظر). Abd ul Rahim Khaja was given a sum of Rs 30 000 for preparation. A female elephant with a litter was prepared for the king. His health continued to be bad during this visit. He continued to lose strength and grow weaker. He could not ride and went out for airing in a palkhi (پالکی). He lost all appetite and even gave up taking opium (ادویں) which he was in the habit of taking for the last 40 years. He liked nothing but a few glasses of grape wine (چند پیاله شراب انگوری). He then resolved to return to Lahore. On the way at the fort of Bairam (بیرم) a hunt was arranged. Deer were driven to a place where he sat and he shot from his seat. During the course of this hunt one of the footmen slipped fell down a hill and died. This event and the grief of the mother of the deceased affected him and he did not recover from the shock. From the fort Bairam they went to Tahna and from Tahna to Rajour (راجور). He died on the way further. He asked for a drink which was brought but which he could not swallow. He died on the next day. His body was taken to Lahore and buried there.

From the Iqbal nameh : Jehangiri or Wâkıat : Jehangiri of Mu tamad Khân we learn that Jehangir had particulars from in all six visits of Kashmir. They were in Mu tamad Khan's the 14th 16th 18th 19th 20th and the 21st Iqbal nameh : years of his reign. We find from this book, Jehangiri that in one beautiful place he ordered an inscription to be put up to commemorate his visit of the place. We read the following —

حکم شد کہ درج عبور لشکر منصور بر لوح سنگی ثبت نمایند
اس نقش دولت در صخره رو بر کار بادکار نمایند

i.e. Order was issued that the date of the stay of the victorious army may be inscribed on a stone tablet so that the note of the auspicious event may remain commemorated on the page of time

In the account of the fourth visit the following matters are noted as novelties or peculiarities —

1 A flower not seen up to now, having three beautiful colours It was unmatched in colours and beauty (درحدوش رنگی) (ونظر فریبی بی نظیر) The flower grew so large that it could not be contained in two hands The people of Kashmir call it *makarbush* (مکروبوش)

2 There were some orange trees giving 1 000 oranges (بارنج) each

3 During the return journey a lion was presented to his Majesty which lived with a goat in the same cage The animal was so much domesticated in the company of the goat that when the latter was removed it roared and cried The king ordered another goat of the same size and colour to be put in the cage The lion then at first smelt the goat and not finding it to be its own companion killed it When the same goat was restored to him in the cage the lion embraced and kissed him

I have given Jehangir's account of his visit to Kashmir on the authority of his Memoirs known (a) as the *Jehangir's travels* Tuzuk-i-Jhangiri and (b) as *Iqbal nameh* translated by Major David Price But there is another Persian text styled *Tarikh-i-Sahih Shāhī* by Major David Price who translated it in 1829 There was some controversy on this work, as to whether it was genuine or spurious a controversy in which the well known orientalist Sylvester de Sacy of Paris also took some part¹ Without entering much into the controversy I having been to the country twice and having seen the force of the torrent of its river Jhelum beg to doubt its genuineness at least the genuineness of some of its statements No doubt there is a good deal of exaggeration for example the Memoir which Major Price translated speaks in very great exaggeration of the loss of life caused by the force of the torrent of the river and of the rigour of the climate Suhrab Khan the son of Mirza Rustam Khan was drowned while bathing in the river when Jehangir was on his way to Srinagar during his first visit after his accession to the throne The Emperor's account in his Tuzuk is simple and says nothing of any enormous loss of *lives* of persons sent to recover the dead body But look to the following exaggerated account as given by the writer of Price's work Without enlarging further on a subject to me so painful I sent nearly a thousand of the best swimmers into the river in the hope of recovering the lifeless body of the young Mirza in order to give it the last mournful proofs of my affection

but all search proved in vain. What became of his poor remains was never discovered. But this is not all that I have to record of this fatal river. Impatient of restraint the unreflecting multitude plunged in heedless throngs into the stream and perished to the number of fifty thousand persons not having the common sense to wait until the waters should have subsided. The cold on the banks of the river was moreover so severe that it was reported to me the next morning that nearly ten thousand elephants, camels and horses had perished during the night belonging to the imperial stables alone independently of what belonged to the army in general. Blessed be God for the greatest heat of the dry season for never in the very hottest temperature was there an instance of such extensive destruction at one time.

The oldest and most experienced man present united in declaring that in all that they had seen at different times and in every variety of season it did not occur to them ever to have witnessed such severity of cold as that which this year had proved so destructive on hill and plain to so many animals of every description.

At the foot of the mountains of Kashmir the snow fell without intermission for seven days and seven nights and fuel of any description was not to be procured. The army was accompanied by fakirs or religious mendicants in extraordinary numbers and as they must have perished if not preserved by some immediate intervention I ordered a lakh of camels belonging to the imperial equipment to be employed forthwith in conveying such fuel as could be procured at a distance to camp and these fakirs to be supplied from the very first convoy otherwise their destruction would have been inevitable.¹ The writer seems to have had no sense of proportion in the matter of his figures. Elliot gives several instances² of exaggeration and the above is one more instance. Again from Bernier's account of his visit of Kashmir with Aurangzebe we find that looking to the difficulties of the route and to the small capacity of the valley to supply provisions for a large number the Mogul Emperors took special care to take as small a number of army and followers as possible.³

We learn from Jehangir's Memoirs that he was fond of commemorating his visits to certain enchanting beautiful places in Kashmir by inscriptions. We notice two instances of this kind. The first occurred during the return journey *via* Fir Panjal (1620 H. A.D. 1629 the 15th year of

¹ Memoir of the Emperor Jehangir by Major D'Arl Price (1829) pp. 135-40.

² Elliot, VI., pp. 23, 60.

³ Bernier's Travels in the Mogul Empire. Archibald Constable's Translation, second edition revised by Vincent Smith (1914) p. 601.

his reign) Jehangir went to see a beautiful waterfall and a spring at Bahramgalla which he calls a sight to be seen and there ordered that they should engrave on a stone tablet the date of the crossing and place it on the top of the terrace.¹ We find the second instance as referred to above in his Iqbal-namch² in its account of his third visit to Kashmir in 1625. After having entered into the limits of Kashmir by the Punch (Punj) route he came to a place where there was a very large waterfall 50 cubits in height and 1 in breadth. He sat for an hour before it drank wine and in the end ordered that the date of his arrival there may be inscribed on a tablet. Thus in these instances we see the fondness of Jehangir to commemorate his visits to picturesque and beautiful places in Kashmir like that at Varnag.

VII

Shah Jehan is said to have visited Kashmir several times. We find a detailed account of his first visit during the 7th year of his reign (1043 Hiji or 1633) in the Badshah Namch by Abdul Hamid Lahori.³ Elliot in his extracts from the Badshah Namch⁴ or Shah Jehan Namch of this author only refers to this visit but does not give any account of it. We read in the original an account of the four roads leading to Kashmir. Shah Jehan went by the Pir Panjal Route (راه پيرپنجال) in the Khurdad month. The country is spoken of as nazhat gah (نزهت گاه) i.e. the place of pleasure of Kashmir. It is also spoken of as Kashmir-i-delpazir (دلپذیر) i.e. heart ravishing Kashmir. We read the following about the beauty of Kashmir—

این حظ فردوس نظر مصب نور و صفا—و لطافت آب و هوا—و وفور ریاحین و اشجار—و کثرت فواکه و اثمار—و باغهای خوش—و حررهای دلکش—چشمه سارهای بسندم رلال—و بالابهای گزرمثال—و آسارهای فرح فرا—مناوات دلکش
بهرین معموره دانا است (د)

Translation—This paradise like country is on account of its pleasantness and cleanliness and sweetness of its water and air and the excess of its herbs and trees and abundance of fruit and

¹ Tazuk-i-Jehangiri by Rogers Beveridge Vol. II p. 19.

² Iqbal-namch Calcutta edition of the Bengali Ashtika Socy p. 43, 16.

³ B. H. Motherwell's series Badshah Namch by Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi edited by the Nawab's Kabir al-Din al-Nadwi and Abul Rahim Vol. I (1892) 2nd part p. 12.

⁴ Elliot Vol. I p. 3.

⁵ Badshah Namch Vol. I Text p. 11, 12.

fruits' produce and pleasant gardens and beautiful islands, fountains of wholesome water like that of the fountain of Paradise and lakes like the river of Paradise and joy increasing water courses and enchanting mountain resorts the best of the beautiful places of the world

We find from the Bâdshâh Nâmeh that Kashmir was then, as now, the place whence there was a route to Tibet Shâh Jehân sent from there, Zafar Khan the Subahdâr of Kashmir, for the conquest of Tibet ¹

Shah Jehân visited Kashmir for the second time in the 25th year of his reign (A. D. 1630-31). He stayed at the fort of Hara Parhat built at the direction of his grandfather Akbar. He visited the Mosque built by Mullâ Shâh Badakhshîm at a cost of Rs. 40 000. "Towards the close of the spring on account of the heavy rain and tremendous floods all the verdant islands in the middle of the Dal, as well as the gardens along its borders and those in the suburbs of the city, were shorn of their grace and loveliness. The waters of the Dal rose to such a height that they even poured into the garden below the balcony of public audience which became one sheet of water from the rush of the foaming tide and most of its trees were swamped. Just about this time too a violent hurricane of wind arose, which tore up many trees principally poplars and planes by the roots in all the gardens and hurled down from on high all the blooming foliage of Kashmir. A longer sojourn in that region was consequently distasteful to the gracious mind, so notwithstanding that the sky was lowering he quitted Kashmir."

Though the inscriptions at Varnâg have nothing to do with Shâh Jehân, some ruins at Varnâg are associated by the people there with the name of this monarch. Near the garden opposite to the spring tank on the left of the adjoining tonga road leading to the spring there are several ruins which were shown to me as those of the hot water and cold water baths of Shâh Jehân. A ruin is shown as that of the place where hot water was boiled. We still see ruins of two pipes there. It seems that a part of the water of the canal was carried from under the road to the baths. I am not in a position to say how far what the people said there was true that the ruined baths were built by Shah Jehân. But it is certain that Shâh Jehân also had paid visits to Kashmir.

¹ Ibid. p. 31. Vide also Elliot VII. p. 93.

² I say Khan & Shah Jehan Nama. Elliot VII. pp. 97-8.

On proceeding from this site to the village, we pass over the ruins of some old water works. A very large stone about 10 ft. in length forms, as it were, a bridge over a streamlet. This is pointed out to us as that of the time of the Pandavas. Anything unusual in size is often pointed out to us in many places in India as connected with, or belonging to the time of the Pandavas. Here is an instance of this kind.

Shah Jehân's rule in Kashmir is commemorated by an In-

scription bearing his name and giving his
 Shâh Jehân's Inscriptions in Kashmir *Farman* on the Jamî Masjid of Kashmir.¹

The *Farman* was given by Emperor Shâh Jehân on 7th of Isfandârmuz (February) and inscribed in Adar. The year is not given but it seems that it was during his second visit of 1061 Hiji, A.D. 1650-51 that the King's *Farman* was inscribed on the Juma Masjid. We read: "On the 4th Rajab His Majesty paid a visit to the Mosque which had been erected in the most exquisite style of art for the asylum of learning Mulla Shâh Badakhshâm."² The year 1061 Hiji began on 25th December 1650. So the Rajab the 7th month of that year fell in June of 1651. It seems therefore that he may have issued the order before coming to Kashmir in the preceding February (Asfandârmuz) and the order was inscribed in March. On his arrival in Kashmir perhaps he went to see how his *Farman* was inscribed.

The *Farman* did justice to the following grievances of the Kashmiris: (1) There should be no forced labour for the purpose of collecting saffron. (2) A tax for wood used by the people was charged by the Subadârs, which charge was increased by the government of Itiqad Khân. That charge of tax was abolished. (3) An impost on the growth of rice in villages "whose rental was more than 400 *Kharvar* of rice" was abolished. (4) The poll tax of 75 *dâms* on each boatman was reduced to the previous tax of 60 *dâms*. (5) The Subadârs kept their own men in private fruit gardens to watch over the best fruits to have them. The result was that the owners to avoid this did not grow good fruits. So this restriction from the Subadars was removed.³

Another inscription on the same Jamî Masjid refers to the belief that if a man did some good work not only he but his father and forefathers got the advantage or benefit of the-

¹ Rev. Loewenthal's article entitled "Some Persian Inscriptions found in Srinagar Kashmir." *Journal Bengal Asiatic Society* Vol. XXXIII No. 3 pp. 247-88.

² *Shâh Jahân Nama* Elliot, VII p. 97.

³ *Journal Bengal Asiatic Society* XXXIII No. 3 pp. 289-90.

righteous act in the other world We read at the end of this inscription which is dated 1056 Hجري Oh God pardon its builder and his father—Oh Pardoner !

VIII

François Bernier (1620 1688) a French medical man who after travelling in several parts of the East joined the court of King Aurangzeb in 1659 describes at some length in an interesting way Aurangzeb's visit to Kashmir in 1665. He had accompanied the Emperor in this visit. The great Mogul was carried by people in his *Takht-i-ravan* i.e. a moving throne guarded by *gourz-bardars* i.e. mace bearers. The king marched with a retinue. He had a number of the choicest elephants for his baggage and also a few mules. Besides these there were 6 000 porters or coolies to carry the baggage. In all for the whole royal party there were 30 000 porters. They were collected by the Rajahs of the adjoining countries. The royal party was accompanied by a large number of traders who opened their shops wherever the camps were pitched. Bernier was enamoured of the beauty of the country. The praise of Kashmir has been sung by many a traveller and many a poet. As said by Bernier during Aurangzeb's visit of Kashmir there was an emulous contest between the Kashmiri and the Mogul poets for poems in praise of the favoured land.¹ I have referred above to Bernier's own view about the beauty of Kashmir.

I will here say a few words on the Banihal Pass by which The Banihal the Mogul Emperors in some of their visits Pass near Varnā, crossed the Pir Panjal range of the mountains surrounding Kashmir. If one wants to enter into Kashmir from Jammu he has to cross this high Pass. It is referred to by Abul Fazl in his Ain-i-Akbari. It is in the vicinity of Varnā. It was on 30th June 1910 that I had the pleasure of going to the top of this Banihal Pass which serves as the route over the Pir Panjal mountains. I had attempted this ascent during my first visit of Kashmir in May 1895 on foot but had failed. We had to return all exhausted after climbing one third the height.

2 16 1 1 6

Unabridged Oriental Bibliography of China and Related Publications, Vol. 1
 1 rulers' Trials (1656-1668) (199) 1: 491 Second edition revised by
 Vincent A. Smith 1911

This time we went on horseback. We started at about 6 45 a m and reached the top at about 10 20. The path is at places so narrow that to give way to some of the Maharaja's troops coming from Jamoo, we had to wait at one place for about half an hour. The Pass is named Banihal from a stream of that name running at some distance from here. Jamoo is said to be 8 stages from here. This Pass is always windy. Tradition says that the mountain is named Pir Panjal from the fact of a Pir i.e. a saint living here in former times. This Pir was much harassed by a person living here, and so to punish him he cursed him and prayed for cold wind. The man was overtaken by the wind and was killed. The wind has continued to blow here since that time. On my visit I was showed a very large slab of stone here. It was about 8 feet long 4 feet broad and 3 to 4 feet thick. The Pir said his prayers on this stone. Four small hollows on the surface are pointed out to us as the place where he rested his knees and placed his hands during the prayer ritual. The Pir had miraculously changed the direction of this big stone to enable him to turn to the *kehleh* towards the *maghreb* (west). Before his advent here and before the abovementioned event of his curse to punish his tormentor the Pass was free from stormy winds.¹

Let us note what Bernier who travelled in Kashmir in the company of Aurangzeb says of the Pir and his miraculous powers of producing the winds. The third extraordinary appearance was an aged hermit who had resided on the top of this mountain ever since the time of Jehan Guyre. Of his religion everybody was ignorant but it was said that he wrought miracles caused strange thunders and raised storms of wind hail snow and rain. His white and uncombed beard was extremely long and bushy. The old man was also very angry with those who made a noise. He informed me that noise made there stirred up the most furious tempests imaginable.

Jehan Guyre having upon one occasion derided his counsel and notwithstanding his earnest remonstrance having

¹ There is in Kashmir another big stone which is traditionally connected with another Pir. It is near the Tulwan marg on Gulmarg. It is connected with a story of one Baba Rishi who had driven away a demon from Kashmir. The demon in revenge threw against Baba Rishi a big stone from the side of a distant mountain. He misdirected his aim and Baba Rishi in thanksgiving got up over the stone and said his afternoon *nama* or prayer over it. His foot made a mark over the stone. But lest people may make the stone a Ziarat-gah or a place of pilgrimage he overturned the stone so that people may not see his foot mark. The Tulwan marg and the stone were visited by me on the 10th and 11th of July 1915. I found the stone to be about 19 to 20 ft long 8 to 10 ft broad and 7 to 8 ft high. We see the Ziarat-gah of this Baba Rishi on our way to Baramulla down the Gulmarg.

ordered the cymbals to be beaten and the trumpets to be sounded narrowly escaped destruction ¹

It seems that the Pir's apprehensions about any noise what ever being made there may be wrong but it is quite possible that loud noises like those of drums &c may very likely produce a change in the equilibrium of the weather conditions there The following note on the subject in Bernier's translation shows that large noises are likely to produce such changes in mountain recesses It says At the present day the bands of pilgrims who visit the Holy Shrines situated in the lofty mountains of Kashmir refrain from chanting their hymns of praise when in the vicinity of the banks of snow as on several occasions the effect of such reverberations of sound has been to dislodge avalanches which swept away to destruction many men and women

Abul Fazl in his *Āin-i Akbarī* ² says as follows on the subject of the wind on the Pir Panjal hills If on these hills an ox or a horse be killed storm clouds and wind arise with a fall of snow and rain Col Jarret makes the following note on the subject in his translation The superstition regarding the tempest of wind and snow and rain appears to be connected with that of the *Yedeh* (يَدِه) or rain stone frequently alluded to by Baber the history of which is given by D'Herbelot It is of Tartar origin and the virtues of the stone are celebrated in Yarhand and attested by authorities who have never witnessed them It is said to be found in the head of a horse or a cow and if steeped in the blood of an animal with certain ceremonies a wind arises followed by snow and rain

While traversing the mountain Pass of Pir Panjal three things recalled Bernier's old philosophical speculations One was the above one of the aged hermit and the tempests The second was the experience of the opposite seasons of summer and winter within the same hour In ascending we were exposed to the intense heat of the sun and perspired most profusely but when we reached the summit we found ourselves in the midst of fro en snow One often experiences some changes of temperature when he goes on the top of a hill but here on this lofty Pass the change is very great Though I had not the severe experience of Bernier to be on the frozen snow I experienced an unusual sudden change within two or three minutes I

¹ Bernier's Travels (1664—1668) in *Contables Oriental Miscellany* Vol. I (1891) p. 410

² *Ibid* p. 410 n. 1

³ Col. Jarrett's Translation Vol. II. p. 218

cannot do better than quote what I put down there and then in my note book on arriving at the top of the Pass I wrote

“*પ્રુદાના શુક્રગના કે આલે આ બનીહાન પાસની ટોચે મને તે માહેબ બે બેશીઓ માથે લાવ્યો ૨૦ વર્ષ પા નિધૂલ નિવડેલો તે આલે તે માહેબ લાવ્યો શુક્ર તે માહેબના ૧૧ વાગાને શુમારે પણ થડે। પવન કુકે છે ઉપર ચહડતા દગલો કાઢાડી નાખેલો તે પાછો। પેહડવો પડ્યો ધણો થડે। પવન તડકુ મુદલ નહિ લાગે હેઠે બાગબાન અને અહી પણ ઝમક મુસલમાન કડે છે કે રિઆખામા પનના બેગથી કોઈ વખત માણુમો ઉડી પો છે અને ખીનમા ઘસડાઈ મરી જાય છે*

Thanks to God that He has brought me to day with my two relatives to the top of this Banihal Pass Where I had fuled 20 years ago He has brought me to day Though it is eleven o'clock there blows cold wind I had to remove my coat while climbing up I have to put it on again Very cold wind The (heat of the) sunshine not perceptible The gardener down below and a Mahomedan here say that in winter owing to the force of the wind at times men are thrown down and carried away into the valley and killed

Bernier gives an interesting account of the preparations and Transport for transport for Aurangzeb's visit of Kashmir Aurangzeb's visit He says ' That a scarcity of provisions to Kashmir may not be produced in the small kingdom or Kachemire the King will be followed by a very limited number of individuals Of females he takes only ladies of the first rank the intimate friends of Rauchenara Begum and those women whose services cannot easily be dispensed with The Omrahs and military will also be as few as possible and those Lords who have permission to attend the Monarch will be accompanied by no more than twenty five troopers out of every hundred not however to the exclusion of the immediate officers of their household These regulations cannot be evaded an Omrah being stationed at the pass of the mountains who reckons every person one by one and effectually prevents the ingress of that multitude of Mansabdars and other cavaliers who are eager to inhale the pure and refreshing air of Kachemire as well as of all those petty tradesmen and inmates of the bazars whose only object is to gain a livelihood

The King has a few of the choicest elephants for his baggage and the women of the Seraglio Though heavy and unwieldy these animals are yet very surefooted feeling their way when the road is difficult and dangerous and assuring themselves of

the firm hold of one foot before they move another. The king has also a few mules but his camels which would be more useful are all left behind the mountains being too steep and craggy for their long stiff legs. Porters supply the place of camels and you may judge of the immense number that will be employed if what they tell me be true that the king alone has no fewer than six thousand. I must myself have three although I left my large tent and a considerable quantity of luggage at Lahor every person did the same not excepting the Omrahs and the king himself and yet it is calculated that there are at least fifteen thousand porters already collected in Bember, some sent by the Governor of Kachemire and by the neighbouring Pajas and others who are come voluntarily in the expectation of earning a little money. A royal ordinance fixes their pay at ten crowns for every hundred pounds weight. It is computed that thirty thousand will be employed an enormous number when it is considered that the King and Omrahs have been sending forward baggage and the trades people articles of every sort for the last month.

IX

Aurangzeb who died in 1118 H A D 1707 was succeeded by the following kings one after another —
 1 The Mogul Emperor after Aurangzeb 1 Shah Alam Badshah known as Bihadur shah who died in 1123 Hijri A D 1711
 2 Jahaadar Shah who ruled for 11 months only and was then killed by Muhammad Farrukh Syar the Jhahid (martyr)
 3 Sultan Muhammad Farrukh Syar who came to throne in 1123 Hijri A D 1711 He ruled for eight years and 4 months and was then dethroned and put in prison where he soon died
 4 Abu l Barakat Rafi ud Darajat who was declared Emperor in 1131 Hijri (18th February 1719) and who ruled for a few days
 5 Rafi ud Daula entitled Shah Jehan II who came to throne on 20 Rajah 1131 May 27 A D 1719 and reigned only for 3 months and 2 days
 6 Muhammad Shah Badshah known as Roshan Akhtar who came to throne on 11 Zil kada 1131 H September 1719

We know nothing interesting in connection with Kashmir in the short reigns of these Mogul Kings after Aurangzeb until we come to the reign of the last ruler in the above list. In his reign one Mahbub Khan otherwise known as Ahdu n Nalur Kashmiri satisfied his enmity towards the Hindus of Kashmir by submitting them to many indignities. This was followed by a heavy fight between two factions of the Mahomedans. These disturbances caused a damage of lacs of rupees

X

The language of the Inscriptions generally, and the use of some words especially, suggest the question of the influence of Persia upon India. The Moguls have left a powerful mark on India in various lines and in that mark, Old Persia, which had influenced early Mahomedanism, has some indirect hand. In an interesting article, entitled 'India's debt to Persia,'¹ Mr H Beveridge refers to some sources for this influence. Speaking generally he says "But if Persian Muhammedans were influential in India, the followers of the old Persian faith were also powerful agents in civilizing the country. The Persian settlers in Gujrât—the forefathers of the modern Parsees—did same service to India as the Huguenots did to England. They introduced new arts and sciences and enriched the blood of the Indian nations. When we think of what the Parsees have done for India, the Huguenots for England, and the Puritans for America, we are almost inclined to think, that there is good in religious persecutions, and that, like Kingsley's 'Wild North Easter' they drive hearts of oak seaward round the world."

Now it is the language of Jehangir's Inscription, and especially the use of some religious terms of "the Old Persian faith," referred to by Mr Beveridge that suggest to us some stray thoughts of this kind. Words like 'Haft keshwar' and 'Sarush' used in the inscriptions point to the influence of Zoroastrianism upon Mahomedanism. The words have come down, as it were, in their original form from the Avesta. The first part 'hafta' in 'haftkeshwar' is Avesta hapta (seven). The second part 'keshwar' is Avesta 'karshvarê' (country). The word Sarush (angel Gabriel) is Avesta Sraosha.

We find the word Sarush in another inscription of Kashmir. It is that on "a postern gate" of the tomb of Kashmir's celebrated king Zain ul Âbâdîn, situated at a short distance from the Masjid of Shâh Hamdân. The inscription was put by Sultan Habib in 981 Hijrî, some time after the death of Zain ul Âbâdîn. The couplet which speaks of Sarush runs thus:²

گاه تعمیر بنای خوشقدم از سرش
مال تاریکش مرا رثائی سلطان حبیب

i.e., At the time of laying the foundation, I heard from Sarush the year of its date, the second tomb of Sultan Habib" 981.

¹ Sykes Memorial Volume edited by me pp 41-42

² As given by Rev. Loewenthal in his article entitled "Some Persian Inscriptions found in Srinagar Kashmir" (*Journal Bengal Asiatic Society* (1865) Vol XXIII No 3 p. 27-28)

In the case of Kashmir, Saiyad Ali of Hamadân (the ancient Ecbatana), whose name is borne by a large Masjid of Srinagar, had preceded the Moguls and had been the medium of the spread of Persian influence. The saint's original name is Mir Sayid Ali Hamadâni. He died in 786 Hijri (A.D. 1384). Thus appears from the following inscription in the mosque in Srinagar, known as the Masjid of Shâh Hamdâna ¹

تاریخ وفات دی
چون شد از نماز احمد خاتم دین
و رحلت بقصد و ستم ثمانین
بود از عالم فانی بمانی
اصغر و درو عالم آل ناسین

Translation — "Date of his death

"In the year 786 from the time of Ahmad, the seal of religion (that is) from the Hijri, there went from the transitory to the eternal world the prince of both worlds, the descendant of Yâsin (i.e., the descendants of the Prophet) "

In old Parsee books, for example, the Pahlavi Bundehesh Kashmir is spoken of as a part of India and the Sadâr speaks of Kashmir as being one of the several places where, in olden times, Zoroastrianism prevailed. Even later Arab and Mahomedan writers speak of Kashmir as being a part of Hind or India. According to Maçoudî ² Kashmir together with Sind and Kanauj formed a part of India.

Up to a few years ago, Persian was the court language of the Durbar of Kashmir. Even during my second visit of Kashmir, I had occasion to talk in Persian with a large number of people there. Even the Hindu Pandits spoke Persian. At one time, there were, as it were, two parties in Kashmir, one was that of the Persian knowing Pandits and the other of Sanskrit knowing Pandits. The Mahomedan King Zain ul Abadîn, a very popular and benevolent ruler, known and still spoken of, as "The Pâd shâh," i.e., the king, greatly helped the study of Persian. It is said that at one time the schism was so much, that the Persian speaking Pandits and the Sanskrit speaking Pandits did not intermarry. Again, the Persian knowing Pandits could not practise as *gurus* or professional Hindu priests ³.

¹ I give the inscription and translation as given by R. v. J. Leventhal (*Ind. pp. 2* 1-2-3). Lev. Leventhal gives two more inscriptions found on this Masjid.

² Maçoudî Chap. VII. XVI. Ed. 1811. pp. 12-22.

³ I cite my paper on the Pandits of Kashmir (*Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* Vol. X, No. 6 pp. 461-5). My Anthropological papers. Part II.

The Moguls brought their taste for gardening to Kashmir from Persia. Mi Witt in his *Retreat of the Ten Thousand* says: "This charming pursuit (of gardening) had been raised almost to the rank of religious duty by Zoroaster, the founder of the Persian religion, who had taught his disciples that when occupied in the planting and tending of trees useful to man they were engaged in a good action well pleasing to God."¹

The principal Mogul gardens of Kashmir are the Nishat Bagh and the Shalimar on the Dal lake and the gardens at Achibal and Virnag. Sir F. Younghusband while speaking of the Shalimar garden says: "The Moguls certainly understood such matters. They were quite right in selecting trees of formal growth and planting them on geometrical lines, the essence of a good garden being that it should form a pleasing intermediate step between the free treatment which Nature lavishes on hills and plains, fields and forests and that necessarily artificial object—a building made by the hand of man."²

VI

II—THE TEXT AND THE TRANSLATION OF JEHANGIR'S INSCRIPTIONS AT VIRNAG

There are two inscriptions at Virnag. Both are on the walls surrounding the octagonal tank. (a) One is on the wall opposite to the entrance. (b) The other is on a side wall. I will first give the text of the inscriptions.

(a) Text of Jehangir's Inscription on the wall of the octagonal tank, opposite to the entrance

پادشاه بهشت دشور سپهسالار عدالت گستر ابوالمظفر نورالدین جهانگیر
پادشاه این اکبر پادشاه عالی قاریج سنه ۱۵ خلوص درین سرچشمه
حسین آل نرول احلال فرمودید این عمارت بتکمیل تصویب صورت
ادامه نمود از جهانگیر شاه اکبر شاه آل دلا سرکشید در ایام
نابی عقل نواب نارنجش قصر آباد چشمه ورنای
۱۰۲۹ هجری

1 *The Retreat of the Ten Thousand* by Prof. C. Witt trans. & text from the German by Francis Younghusband (1891) p. 17

2 *Kashmir* by F. Younghusband p. 81

3 *Nuru ud-din*. This was also a title of Jehangir and formed part of his name

(b) Text of the Inscription on the wall on the right hand side of the octagonal tank

حندر بکتم شایجهان بادشاہ دہر
شکر خدا کہ صاحب چگون انشار و حوی
رین حوی دادہ است ر حوی بہشت بار
اس انشار باندہ کشمیر آمروی
بارج حوی آب بگفتا سررش عبد
ار چشم بہشت بروں آمدہ است حوی

۱۳۶

(a) Translation of the first Inscription —

King Jehangir the king of the seven regions the justice spreading Emperor, father of victory splendour of religion the son of the brave King Akbar did the honour of coming to this fountain head of abundant mirror (like water) in the 10th year after his accession to the throne This building was completed by His Majesty's order This building raised its head toward heaven (by the hand of) Jehangir Shah (son of) Akbar Shah The source of Reason (i.e. angel Gabriel) obtained (i.e. decreed) its date as *qasr abad chashmeh i Vernag i.e.* (May the palace of the fountain of Vernag flourish) *Hijri 1029*¹

(b) Translation of the second Inscription —

Thanks to God! What a (beautiful) waterfall and running stream has Haidar prepared at the order of the King of the World the king of the time! This running stream has reminded us of the stream of Paradise Kashmir has obtained fame from this stream The invisible Sarush (angel Gabriel) mentioned the date of the canal to be *iz chashma (i) behesht birun amadah ast jui* i.e. the stream has come out of the spring of Paradise 1036

In the case of the first Inscription the numerical computation of the letters in the line *نمر آباد چشم ورنای* must give us the number 1029 as given in figures in the Inscription To give us that number we have to take two alifs for the first letter in the word *آباد* The word *چشم* may be taken for *چشم* and *ورنای* must be read as *Vernag ورنای* which is the

¹ I.e. A.D. 1619-20 the 10th year of Jehangir's reign

² The word is *Shah Jehan* (شاه جهان) One may at the first sight

take the insertion to refer to the son and successor of Jehangir but the date 1036 clearly shows that the word here is a common noun and not a proper noun and that it refers to Jehangir (A.D. 1606-1627) and not to Shah Jehan (1627-1658) I will speak further on this subject later on

form of the name we find in the *Memoirs of Jehangir*. With this modification, the sentence, in order to give the numerical value of 1029, must read *اے قصر آگاہ چہ ویرانی*. The values will be $100+90+200+1+1+2+1+4+3+300-40+6+10+200+50+1+20=1029$

In the case of the second Inscription, the date of the event, as given in figures, is 1036 and so it must tally with the chronogram contained in the last line. This chronogram has given me a good deal of trouble for numerical calculation. At first, it looks, so that, the whole of the last line gives the chronogram, but it is not because it does not give the required number 1036. Here, it is not a case of the addition of the numerical values of the letters, but a case both of addition and subtraction. The date, *viz*, 1036, can be arrived at by adding the numerical values of the letters of the words *چشم بہشت* and subtracting from the result the value of the letters of the word *خوی*. The words *برون آمدہ* "coming out" *ie*, "taking out" suggest subtraction. Thus, we come to the following result —

۱	3
۱	300
۱	40
۱	5
۱	2
۱	5
۱	300
۱	400
	<hr/>
Total	1055
۱	3
۱	6
۱	10
	<hr/>
Total	19

Thus $1055-19=1036$

We find that the first of the two inscriptions commemorates two events, *viz* (1) the visit of Jehangir to the Spring of Virnâg during the 15th year of his reign, which commenced on Friday the 15th of the month of Rabi us Sam, Hijri 1029 10th March 1620¹ and (2) the fact that the building round the tank was constructed at the orders of Jehangir and the inscription put up during the same year

The second tablet on the right hand side while entering takes a note of the fact that the artificial canal, in which the stream ran after leaving the above tank was built in 1036 Hiji A D 1627 by one Haidar at the orders of the then King of the World

VII

A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE INSCRIPTIONS

I will now speak of several matters in connection with the inscriptions of Jehangir at Virmag which require to be looked into They are the following —

- 1 References to Jehangir's visits of Virmag in the books of history relating to his reign
- 2 Who is the Haidar referred to in the second Inscription?
- 3 Who is the king referred to in the Inscription as Shah Jahan?

We find from the books of history that Jehangir had paid

1 References to several visits to Virmag (a) As said above Jehangir's visits we learn from his Memoirs (Tuzuk)¹ that to Virmag he had been there twice during the life time of his father These visits had impressed him with the beauty of the spring and so he had ordered some structures there He says in his Tuzuk When I was a prince I had given an order that they should erect a building at this spring suitable to the place It was now (1029 H A D 1620 the 10th year of the reign) completed² He then describes the reservoir of an octagonal shape round which halls with domes had been erected and there was a garden in front of them I found the reservoir there was a stone walk³ After his accession to the throne he paid a third visit to Virmag and gave orders for some extensive works He says I ordered them to build the sides of the spring round with stone and they made a garden round it with a canal and built walls and houses about it and made a place such that travellers over the world can point out few like it⁴ Then Jehangir had a fourth visit of Virmag during his fourth visit of Kashmir in the 19th year of his reign It was on the first of Shahrivar that he visited Virmag We find no reference to this visit in his Tuzuk Elliot's quotations also do not refer to it But we find a reference to it in his Iqbal nameh⁵ We thus

1 Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri by Feroz-Bek Mirza Vol I p 2

2 Ibid II p 173

3 Ibid II p 173

4 Ibid Vol I p 20

5 English Edition Society's edn. of 1914 p 22

find, that Jehangir had, during his six visits of Kashmir paid four visits to Virmâg. We find two references to his orders for the construction of the walls, &c, round the spring, and of the canal, referred to in our inscriptions.

The next question before us is, who is the Haidar referred to in the second inscription as the person, who at the orders of the King of the World (Shah in Jehan), built the canal, &c. It seems that his name was Haidar Malik, and that he was an officer who was entrusted to do some canal work. We read in Jehangir's Memoirs that in the 17th year of his reign (Hijri 1031), beginning with March 10 12 1622, Jehangir sent this officer to Kashmir "to bring a canal from the valley of Lar to the Nûr-afzâ garden (at Hari Parbat) giving him Rs 30 000 for the materials and labour"¹ Haidar Malik was a native of Kashmir itself. His village was Chârdara (or Chârvira or Chadura or Isâdur)² It appears that he was the author of a history of Kashmir. His work is referred to in another history of Kashmir.

We have in the Moola Feroze Library of Bombay a manuscript named Tarikh-i Kashmir (تاریخ کشمیر), the History of Kashmir³ The author is Muhammad Aatzim, son of Khayr Alzeman Khan⁴ (محمد اعظم ولد خیرالزمان خان). The third part of this manuscript history treats of the Events of Kashmir from the beginning of the conquest by the sovereigns of the Chagatai dynasty of Timur.

(واقعات کشمیر از ابتدای تسلط سلاطین طغرل چغلتام و تیموریان)

Therein, we find an account of Nurrudin Jehangir Badshah's rule over Kashmir. In that account there is a reference to the history written by Haidar Malik (حیدر ملک در تاریخ خود)⁵ In the preface, the author of this Ms history speaks of this Haidar Malik Chadurah (چادورہ). This Chadurah is the abovenamed village of Kashmir to which Haidar Malik belonged. It is a town situated near Srinagar. The author speaks of Haidar Malik as singing the praises of his own forefathers and ancestors and of himself (اکثر حاکما و بزرگان و اجداد خود و کوس خود ستای را بواجب)

(و حاکمان خود و کوس خود ستای را بواجب)

¹ Tuzuk-i Jehangiri by Rogers and Beveridge II 1 233

² Ibid p 134 and 135

³ It bears No 103. It is the 22nd Ms described under the heading IV of History Bibliography &c (File 18) of the Library's printed catalogue by Prof. I. Khatshak.

⁴ It is the 1st of the Ms

⁵ Ibid 1 104 1 9

⁶ Ibid 1 106

⁷ Ibid p 7 1

We read the following in his History of Kashmir by Muham Haidar Malik mad Aatzim Jebangir ordered the improvement and prosperity of the country and the reparation and the construction of forts and buildings and royal gardens within the fort and in the direction of the ponds, especially "Faiz bakhsh" 1

The history names the following persons as the governors of Kashmir during the reign of Jehangir Nawab Kulich Khan, Nawab Hashim Khân, Nawab Safdar Khân, Nawab Ahmad Beg Khan, Nawab Delawar Khan (Hijri 1027)

In the account of the governorship, a reference is made to Kashmir's great calamities from storm and fire. In one of the great fires from 10 to 12 thousand houses were burnt. The great Juma Masjid built by Sikandar Butshikan was also burnt in this fire. Jehangir, during his visit of Kashmir, got this Masjid repaired. Our author says that Haidar Malik in his history says, that the Sunnis accused his ancestors of bringing about the destruction of the Masjid by fire 2. So the burden of repairing the Masjid was thrown by the king upon Haidar's father, Malik Mahmud Naji. The event is commemorated in the lines,

ملک حیدر رئیس الملک در عهد جہانگیری ہادار بنیاد اور بنیادش نار
رور عند قربانی

Translation — Malik Haidar a chief of the country in the time of Jehangir, laid anew its foundation on the day of Id-i qurban.

Jehangir came to Kashmir for the first time in the year 1029 Hijri by way of Punjab. At that time he had ordered Ali Malik, the brother of Haidar Malik to clear the roads beforehand. In the time of the governorship of Nawab Itaqad Khan (1032 Hijri), Haidar Malik had a hand in the construction of the great Juma Masjid in Punch. According to this book, Jehangir visited Kashmir seven times (۷ مرتبہ نار) and during every visit repaired and laid over gardens and buildings.

(۲۱ بحرہ نورس اعانت و تعمیر عمارات نمود)

During the last visit the king at the request of Nur Jehân, appointed Haidar Malik a permanent officer to remain in the presence of the king and gave him the title of Itas ul Mulk (Chagatai) (۳ خطاب رئیس الملک چغتائی). In the beginning,

1 Translated from the Persian of the above M. Haidar, p. 72. ۱۱

2 Ibid. p. 91

3 Ibid. p. 74. ۱۲

it was on the recommendation of Meher ul Nasa Begum that Haidar Malik was appointed a Zamindar of his own country (of Chadrur near Srinagar). On coming to Kashmir (Srinagar) he studied the art of repairing buildings (بلاش مرمت حوی) and applied it to several buildings. This history of Kashmir thus refers to Jehangir's work of improving Kashmir.

نورالدین جہانگیر پادشاہ سلطان سلیم نام داشت بعد رفع مدعیان
سلطنت راج و تخت را بہت بخشید حال الدین مستبد اکبرشاہ بعد
از دستبرد کشمیر ہندو سال و سب و سہ ہزار نکشمنو آمد و اس
جہانگیرشاہ مکرر ہندو و شکو کشمیر رول احلال نمودہ امب و رعیت
پروری و آبادانی خاک و ہندو و ہندو و ہندو و ہندو و ہندو
پادشاہی درون و ہندو و ہندو و ہندو و ہندو و ہندو و ہندو
و چشمہ سار را آباد کرد و فوائد و مصالح ہندو ہندو و ہندو
ہندو ہندو و ہندو کہ سال دوم از حاوس پادشاہ اسب حکومت
کشمیر بدو اب دایع حاکم رسید

Translation—Nur ud din Jehangir Badshah Sultan bore the name of Selim. After overcoming the enemies of the country he added splendour to the crown and throne. Jalal ud din Mahimad Akbarshah lived for seventeen years after the conquest of Kashmir and came to Kashmir three times. This Jehangir Shah honoured Kashmir with visits for the sake of a pleasant ramble and hunt and for the work of protecting the subjects of increasing the prosperity of the country and of placing in good order and proper condition the royal forts, buildings and gardens. He ordered to be put in good order the inside of the forts and the surroundings of the lakes and especially that of the spring of Faiz bakhsh. He beautified water courses. He (thus) benefited and profited the people very much. In the year one thousand and fifteen (1015) which was the second year after the accession to the throne the governership of Kashmir passed to Nawab Kulich Khan.

Haidar's father Hasan Malik bin Malik Muhammad Naji Charvarah was of a noble Kashmir family. Malik's history is said to have been abridged from Kalhana's Rajatarangini. He commenced his work in the 12th year of Jehangir's reign¹ (A.D. 1697). It seems that as he had done a similar work about five years ago (Hijri 1031 A.D. 1622) in the royal palace at Hari Parbat near Srinagar he was also entrusted with the work at Virnig.

¹ Bernier's Travels in Constanle's Oriental Miscellany Vol. I (1891) p. 393 n. 2.

Nur Jehân, the queen of Jehangir, was, at first, the wife of Ali Kuli Beg, who had received the title of Sher Afghan and who was sent to Bengal.¹ When Sher Afghan was killed in Bengal, his wife (Nur Jehân, who afterwards married Jehangir) was saved by this Malik Haidar from the hands of those who killed her husband.²

The second Inscription says that Haidar did the work at the order of Shâh Jehân Pâdshah-i-Dahr

3 Who is the king referred to in the second Inscription? (شاه جهان پادشاه دهر). One may, at the first sight and thought, say that the king referred to was King Shih Jehân. In fact, somebody at the spring led me to understand

that the Inscription referred to Shâh Jehân, and, that the tablet was at one time on some part of the canal and was latterly brought and put up there on the spring. But an examination of the date shows, that the word Shâh Jehân on the tablet is used as a common noun, in the sense of "the King of the World," and not as a proper noun for King Shâh Jehân. The date of the Inscription is 1036 Hiji. Jehangir died on "the 29th Safar, 1037 A. H. in the 22nd year of his reign."³ So it was he who is referred to as the Shâh i Jehân, i. e., the King of the World and as the Pâdshah i Dahr, i. e., the King of the Time.

down, but that that part having fallen into ruins, the tablet was brought down to the tank and put up there on a part of the wall, adjoining to that on which the tablet directly referring to the tank was put up

XIII

III—AN INSCRIPTION ON A TOMB ON A HILL ON THE BANK OF THE DAL LAKE

As a supplement to this paper, I propose giving here, another inscription on a tomb on a hill on a bank of the Dal lake. It is in no way connected with the Mogul Emperors, but it is associated with one of the stories related about the beauty of the Dal lake, which was further beautified by the Mogul Emperor Jehangir by means of his beautiful gardens. The story is as follows—There came to Kashmir, a young man named Daud, a son of a very rich father, from India for the purpose of trade. Instead of carrying on trade properly, he wasted his father's money in the enjoyment of pleasure in the beauties of the Dal lake. Abul Fazl says in his *Ain i Akbari*, that Kashmir is "deservedly appropriate to be either the delight of the worldling or the retired abode of the recluse"¹. This young man turned out to be a worldling, lost completely in the delights and pleasures of the Dal lake. Under the pretext of wanting more money for trade, he sent for it from his father in India and squandered all. It is said, that he was so enamoured of the beauty and pleasures of the Dal that he had enjoined that, on his death he may be buried somewhere on the lake itself. During my first visit I had heard the story but could not discover the tomb. I noted the story of this young man in my lecture on Kashmir before the Gujarati Dayan Prasarak Mandal as follows

તપ્તે મુલેમાનના કુગર હેઠળ ધધરીબલ નામની એક જગ્યા આપણને દેખાડનામા આવે છે, જ્યાં એક વેપારી બચ્ચાની કબર છે, જે વેપાર અર્થ બહારગામથી આવી આ ખુબસુરત મુલકની અને ખાસ કરી તેના ખુબસુરતમા ખુબસુરત ઘણ મરોવળની શારીરિક મજામા આપના લાખો રપોઆ બચ્ચી નાખી બચાળ થયો હતો અને છેવટે એકાતવાસ પકડી અહીં રહ્યો હતો (૨)

¹ *Ain i Akbari* Jarrett's Translation II p 342

² I do my "માનપ્રસારક વિષયે" લાગ ૧, પાના ૧૯૭—૮

During that visit I could not see the tomb itself. I succeeded to discover the tomb during the 2nd visit of 1915. It is situated on the top of a lonely unfrequented hill, a spur of the Takht-i-Suliman, near a place known as Gangrihal. Mr Nowroji Pestonji Unwala of Messrs Pestonji & Co, of Srinagar, kindly guided me to Gangrihal. He did not know where the tomb was situated. At first, we could get no definite information about the whereabouts of the tomb though some persons said that they knew that there was a tomb somewhere on the adjoining hill. At length a person was found who pointed out to us from below, the place on the top of the spur where I could find the tomb. Leaving my friend below I went up the hill taking this person as my guide and promising him a payment of 4 annas for his trouble. It was on the evening of 19th June 1915. The weather was cloudy and was becoming threatening. The guide took me to the height of about 100 feet and pointed out a place, as the place where Daud was buried. There seemed to be a little mound like what we see on some unclaimed tombs in out of the way places. But it struck me, that that cannot be the tomb of a man in a good state of life whose story was traditionally known on the Dal lake. His tomb must be at least one with some pretension of brickwork. So I refused to pay my guide saying that he did not show me the proper tomb. And that was so. Finding that the weather was getting a little rough and rainy, and with a view to be saved from being wet and from the trouble of ascending still further he tried to dupe me. But my stubborn refusal compelled him to take me little further up and to show me the right tomb. I purposely speak of and take a note of this fact in order that those engaged in such pursuits may be cautious that there are many chances of not only being misinformed but of being shown wrong places. Suppose I had believed this man and then said before this Society or elsewhere that I had seen the place of the tomb of Daud and that there was no regularly built tomb and no inscription thereon and suppose some other student had followed me and had come across the proper tomb. I would have then been put to the humiliation of being accused of bragging and giving an incorrect report. To ascertain facts such guides at times require to be examined and cross examined. This Daud is popularly spoken of here as Dalu Mian from the connection of his story with the Dal lake.

I beg to submit for inspection my note book to show a rough outline of the tomb as drawn hastily by me. The tomb seems to be one of the ordinary kind of a Mahomedan tomb. It is on the edge of a spur very little frequented. As it had begun to drizzle and as the weather was getting unpleasant and threatening I could not wait longer to make a better inspection.

of the tomb I hastily copied in my note book a few words that were easily legible. These words were *tarikh* (تاریخ) and Mirza Dâud (میرزا داود). The decipherment of these words at least gave me the satisfaction that there was some truth in the tradition heard by me on the Dal lake about one Daud Mian or Dalu Mian. It gave me further satisfaction, that I had the good fortune to discover at last, the tomb of that man whose story I had heard during my first visit about 20 years ago and had taken a note of, in one of my published lectures. As a matter of fact it turned out to be really a discovery, because the State Archaeological Department, founded a few years ago, knew nothing of this tomb. I wrote to Mr. Daya Ram Sahani, the Superintendent of the Archaeological Department, to inquire if a copy of the Inscription was taken by his Department. I was surprised to learn that not only was the Inscription not copied but that his Department knew nothing of the tomb itself. I requested him to kindly get an impression taken and sent to me. I reminded him of it again on my return to Bombay, and was glad to have it from him with his letter dated Srinagar, 16th August 1915. He writes:

"I am sending you herewith a copy of the Persian Inscription noticed by you. In the first line, we have the date ۱۱۶۲ شہر دی حاتمہ and the name of Mirza Daud. In the second line we read مرحمت کرد which have to be construed with Mirza Daud. In the second half of the same line, we read of the construction (صاحب) apparently of the tomb in which the epigraph is incised and which enshrines the remains of the Mirza named in the 1st line.

I am greatly indebted to Mr. Sahani for the impression he has kindly sent me. I produce it here so that it may be given in our *Journal* and others may have an opportunity to correctly decipher it. Until Mr. Sahani sent me a copy of the impression I did not know that I had seen only half of the Inscription. I went to the tomb from the front and saw the Inscription on that front, and owing to haste, due to the weather with which I inspected the tomb and the Inscription, I had no idea that half of it continued on the other side. From the copy of the impression, which has been sent to me, and which I produce here for reproduction in our *Journal*, I give below what little I can make out.

THE FIRST PART OF THE INSCRIPTION IN THE EASTERN
FRONT OF THE TOMB

شمارج ۲۹ شہر دوال حاتمہ صد ۱۱۶۲ میرزا داود . معل کہ حشاش

Translation.—On the 29th of the month of Zul Hijjah year 1162 Mirza Daud Mogul, whose last breathings (*hushash*)

THE SECOND PART OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE BACK
OF THE TOMB

اِس دَرِاَلِ بِنَا رَحَلِ كَرْد

Translation—passed away from this world of destiny

The Hijri year 1162 began on 22nd December 1748¹ The Hijri month is the last month of the Mahomedan year and the 29th day is the last day of that month² So the day is the last day of the Hijri year 1162 The Hijri year 1163 commenced on 11th December 1749³ So the day of the Inscription which is the last day of the preceding year, corresponds with 10th December 1749 Thus the tomb is about 177 years old

¹ Wollaston's Persian Dictionary p 1489 ² Ibid p 1491 ³ Ibid p 1489

APPENDIX

After the above paper was written and put into type and before it is printed off I have had the pleasure of visiting Kachmir for the third time The tomb has been cleaned and so the inscription is much more legible than before I inspected it twice once alone on 14th June and then on 26th June in the company of Moulvi Mahamad Shah kindly recommended to me by Pandit Hiranand Shastri M.A. the present Superintendent of the Archaeological Department The inscription so far as we have been now able to decipher on the spot runs thus

- (1) بَارِج ۲۱ سَهَرْدِی حَاجَہ سَہَر ۱۱۶۲ مَرَا دَاوَد بَدِی مَعْل
(2) دَرِاَلِ بِنَا رَحَلِ كَرْد مَمْدَرَا
مَرِ بَنَاشِ سَاحِبِ رَعَايَتِ رَا د كَمَد

Translation—On the 21st of the month of Zai Hijri year 1162 Mirza Daud Beg Mogul died (he went to the house of Eternity) Mirza Beg erected (this) tomb They (i.e. the visitors) may remember him with (the recital of) *fatla*

The last word in the first line after the word Mogul and the first two letters of the second line seem to make up a word which seems to be a proper name signifying perhaps the country to which the deceased belonged

The indistinct portion after the word Mirza is some proper name in giving the name of the person who built the tomb perhaps according to the last testamentary will of the deceased Moulvi Mahamad Shah thinks the words to be Akbar Kabar So the whole name may be Mirza Akbar Kabar Beg The tomb is just on the very edge of a spur and may perhaps go down the hill in a few years with a heavy downfall of rain It can be protected in time at small expense

House Boat Pearl No 306

Srinagar Kashmir

29th June 1918



THE INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB

*“The Story of the King and the Gardener”
Emperor in the Wali’ât-i Jehangiri of
Jehangir and its Parallels.*

(Read 24th January 1918)

In the Wali’ât-i Jehangiri, in the account of the thirteenth year of his reign, after describing the crossing of the river Mahi near Ahmedabad, Jehangir

The Story
thus relates a story —

“On the way I passed through a field of *Juwâr*, in which every plant had no less than twelve bunches of corn, while in other fields there is generally only one. It excited my astonishment and recalled to my mind the tale of the King and the Gardener. A King entered a garden during the heat of the day, and met a gardener there. He inquired of him whether there were any pomegranates and received a reply that there were. His Majesty told him to bring a cupful of the juice of that fruit on which the gardener told his daughter to execute that commission. She was a handsome and accomplished girl. She brought the cupful of that beverage, and covered it with a few leaves. The King drank it, and asked the girl why she had put the leaves over it. The girl with much readiness replied, that she had done it to prevent His Majesty drinking too fast, as drinking of liquids just after a fatiguing journey was not good. The King fell in love with her, and wished to take her into his palace. He asked the gardener how much he derived each year from his garden. He said 300 *dinârs*. He then asked how much he paid to the *duwân*. He gave answer that he did not pay anything on fruit trees, but whatever sum he derived from his agriculture, he paid a tenth part to the State. His Majesty said within himself, ‘There are numerous gardens and trees on my dominions, and if I fix a revenue of a tenth on them, I shall collect a great deal of money.’ He then desired the girl to bring another cup of the pomegranate juice. She was late in bringing it this time, and it was not much she brought. His Majesty asked her the reason of this deficiency, observing, that she brought it quickly the first time and in great plenty, that now she had delayed long, and brought but little. The daughter replied, ‘The first time one pomegranate sufficed. I have now squeezed several, and have

not been able to obtain so much juice. The Sultan was astonished upon which her father replied that good produce is entirely dependent on the good disposition of the Sovereign, that he believed that his guest was the King and that from the time he inquired respecting the produce of the garden his disposition was altogether changed and that therefore the cup did not come full of the juice. The Sultan was impressed with his remark and resolved upon relinquishing the tax. After a little time His Majesty desired the girl to bring a third cup of the same beverage. This time the girl came sooner and with a cup brimful which convinced the King that the surmise of the gardener was sound. The Sultan commended the gardener's penetration and divulged to him his real rank, and the reflections which had been passing in his mind. He then asked to be allowed to take his daughter in marriage in order that the memorial of this interview and its circumstances might remain for the instruction of the world. In short the abundance of produce depends entirely on the good will and justice of the Sovereign. Thanks to the Almighty God that no revenue on fruit trees has been taken during my reign and I gave orders that if any one were to plant a garden in cultivated land he was not to pay any revenue. I pray that the Almighty may cause the mind of this humble creature to entertain good pure intentions.

Now the question is Who is the King of the Story?

A Parallel from Emperor Jehangir does neither name the the *Shāh-nāmah* King nor does he give the name of the of Firdous country. I think the King is the King Behramgour of Persia. We find the following story about him in the *Shah-nāmah* of Firdousi—On a day in the season of spring when the ground was covered with vegetation and had become like the garden of paradise King Behramgour went a hunting. He had a good hunt. On the third day he came across a large snake with two breasts like that of a woman. The king killed it with an arrow, and then rending its breast with a dagger found that the snake had devoured a young man. A few drops from the poisonous blood of the snake pained his eyes. He felt exhausted and his pain increased. He arrived *incognito* before a poor house the land lady of which on his inquiring for help welcomed him in her house. She shouted to her husband and asked him to look after the stranger. She showed herself to be more hospitable

Ell of a History of India Vol VI pp. 364-65. We find this story in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* with some difference here and there (The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* by Rogers and Bev n e pp 50-51). For example according to the latter the girl said that the second time she squeezed 5 or 6 pomegranates while the *Wakūt* as the real

than her husband Behrâm rested there for the night, and the next day she produced before him all that she could afford in her rustic house. Among the dainties, there was also a dish of harisah (ہاریش)¹. The traveller (king) was much pleased with her hospitality. Before retiring to bed, he asked the landlady to regale his sick and suffering mind with some refreshing stories. If she liked, she may say something of the rule of the then king. Thereupon, the land lady complained of the officers of the king who passed through the village one way or another on business. They accused some poor people of theft and extorted money from the innocent. They accused respectable women. These small extortions did not go to the treasury of the king, but, anyhow, they were taken as coming from the King Behramgour, who was travelling incognito, was pained to learn all this. He thought to himself "Though I do my best to rule well, my people do not distinguish between a good ruler and a bad ruler, and, on account of the misdeeds of my officers, accuse me of bad rule. In order to give my people an opportunity to feel the troubles of a bad rule, I would really try to rule badly for some time. The people then will be in a position to compare good rule and bad rule." He entertained this evil intention of being a bad ruler during the whole night which he passed restlessly from his pain. The next morning, the land lady went to milch her cow, taking with her the usual quantity of grain and hay for it. She remembered her God as usual and went to her work, but could get no milk from the cow. She thereupon shouted to her husband and said — "My husband! The mind of the ruling king has become evil. He has become oppressive. Since last time, (of milching), his good faith has left him." The husband thereupon asked for the reason to say so. She replied "When the king becomes evil minded the milk gets dried in the breasts of the cows. We have not decreased her food and drink. So, how is it that her milk has gone off?"

Behramgour heard this loud conversation between the wife and the husband, and repented of his evil intention of being really oppressive for some time. He said to himself "I would

¹ Mearns Calcutta edition Vol III p 1511 l 19. It is a kind of thick pottage made of bruised wheat boiled to a consistency, to which meat butter, cinnamon and aromatic herbs are added." (Steingass). Harisah still forms a special dish of sweets among the Parsees specially at the end of the Favardegan or Muktad holidays. From the accounts of the Parsee Panchayat of Bombay of 183 we find that the Trustees provided that sweet dish on the above occasion at the communal expense to all those who asked for it. We find a sum of Rupees one hundred and one debited for it for several years. It was prepared at the Manockji betha Wall in the Fort from where anybody who wanted it took a portion. (See the Bombay Samachar of 14th September 183.)

rather like to be without a royal throne than that my heart should turn away from justice' ! A short time after, the land lady again tried to milk the cow. She began to get the milk as usual. She thanked God saying O God ! You have made the unjust king just again. Thereafter, Behramgour revealed himself before the peasant couple.

It seems that it is some version of this story of King Behramgour that Emperor Jehangir refers to as the story of the King and the Gardener.

I remember having heard when a boy another version of this story. It is to the following effect — A king feeling exhausted in a hunt went to the hut of a gardener and asked for a drink from his wife. She went with a cup and a thorn to her sugar cane field and pricking the thorn in a sugar cane held the cup before the hole made in it. The cup was soon filled with juice. The king got refreshed with the cup and was surprised at the amazing fertility of the soil of this part of his country. On his way homeward he thought that the land tax of that portion of the country was not looking to its fertility what it ought to be. He went home and ordered the tax to be increased. A few days after he again went to the same hut and asked for a drink. The land lady went to her field and pricking a sugar cane with a thorn held a cup before it but no juice came out of it. She at once shouted. The good faith of the King has changed. It is said, that the king seeing with his own eyes what had happened repented of his conduct and ordered the reduction of the tax again.

APPENDIX

On the report of the Society's meeting with an outline of this paper appearing in the public papers Miss Dinoo S. Bastawala a talented promising young lady a grand daughter of Sir Dinsha Edalji Wacha wrote to me on 27th January 1918 and drew my attention to a version of the above story as given in the Arabian Nights. I thank Miss Bastawala for kindly drawing my attention to this version which I give below, following Sir Richard Burton's translation *

اگر داب گورد دل می ر داد
اگر بی عرا بهت سابی منا

* Plain and Literal Translation of the Arabian Nights by Richard F. Burton Vol. V, pp. 8-93 337th and 340th Nights.

“KING KISRA ANUSHIRWAN AND THE VILLAGE DAMSEL”

‘The just King Kisrâ Anushirwân one day rode forth to the chase and, in pursuit of a deer, became separated from his suite. Presently, he caught sight of a hamlet near hand and being sore athirst, he made for it and presenting himself at the door of a house that lay by the wayside, asked for a draught of water. So a damsel came out and looked at him, then, going back into the house, pressed the juice from a single sugar cane into a bowl and mixed it with water, after which she strewed on the top some scented stuff, as it were dust, and carried it to the King. Thereupon he seeing in it what resembled dust, drank it, little by little, till he came to the end; when said he to her, ‘O damsel, the drink is good, and how sweet it had been but for this dust in it, that troubleth it.’ Answered she, ‘O guest, I put in that powder for a purpose,’ and he asked ‘And why didst thou thus?’ so she replied ‘I saw thee exceeding thirsty and feared that thou wouldest drain the whole at one draught and that thus would do thee mischief and but for this dust that troubled the drink so hadst thou done.’ The just King wondered at her words, knowing that they came of her wit and good sense, and said to her, ‘From how many sugar canes didst thou express this draught?’ One,’ answered she, whereat Anushirwan marvelled and calling for the register of the village taxes saw that its assessment was but little and bethought him to increase it on his return to his palace, saying in himself, ‘A village where they get this much juice out of one sugar cane, why is it so lightly taxed?’ He then left the village and pursued his chase, and, as he came back at the end of the day, he passed alone by the same door and called again for drink whereupon the same damsel came out and, knowing him at a look, went in to fetch him water. It was some time before she returned and Anushirwan wondered thereat and said to her, ‘Why hast thou tarried?’ She answered, ‘Because a single sugar cane gave not enough for thy need, so I pressed three; but they yielded not so much as did one before.’ Rejoined he, ‘What is the cause of that?’ and she replied, ‘The cause of it is that when the Sultan’s mind is changed against a folk, their prosperity ceaseth and their goods waxeth less.’ So Anushirwan laughed and dismissed from his mind that which he had purposed against the villagers. Moreover, he took the damsel to wife then and there, being pleased with her much wit and acuteness and the excellence of her speech.”

An Instance of Royal Swayamvara as Described in the Shâh-Nâmeh of Firdousi.

(Read 24th January 1918)

The word Swayamvara (स्वयम् वर) in Sanskrit literally means 'self choice' from *svayam* (स्वयम् one's self (from *sva* = *Av* *hva* = Lat *Se*, *sunus*) and *var* वर (*Av* *var* = Lat *velle*) to choose. Then, it means the self choice of a husband or choice marriage. Choice marriage, though not common among modern Hindus, is not rare. But, in ancient India, it seems to have been somewhat rare in royal families. The word Swayamvara specially came to be applied to choice marriages by princesses among the ancient royal families of India. An article, entitled "Ancient Royal Hindu Marriage Customs," by Pandit Vishwanath in the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,¹ which has suggested to me the subject of this short paper, says on this subject: "The mode of winning a wife" at that time among Kshatriyas was that called a *swayamvara* or self choice. Kings and princes used to be invited by the bride's father to his capital, and they displayed their skill at games and their prowess in arms and performed great feats of strength. The bride witnessed them all and chose him who pleased her most."

I give here, in brief, the two cases of Swayamvara given in the paper, as there are here and there a few points which will bear some comparison in the case I propose giving from the Shâh-nâmeh. The story of the first case of Swayamvara, mentioned in the article, is that of Gangâ, the great goddess of rivers who was ordered to be born on earth to punish Mahabhissha, who, when in heaven, did not respect her modesty, by bending his head when others did so, on finding that her body was accidentally exposed by a gust of wind blowing away her clothes. When born on earth Gangâ sought marriage with the pious King Pratipa. Pratipa refused, but promised to see that his son who was to be born may marry her. A son was born to him and named

¹ Vol XLVII January to June 1917 pp 31-36.

² Rather winning a husband.

Shintanu (son of the peaceful) Pratipa relinquished his throne and gave it to his son Shântanu, and asked him to marry a celestial maiden (Ganga) to whom he had promised such a marriage. The marriage came of itself without Shântanu knowing that the lovely maiden, whom he saw on the bank of the Ganges and afterwards married, was herself Gangâ whom his father had asked him to marry. The principal condition of marriage provided that Shântanu was to let the girl do whatever she liked and not speak a word of protest. Eight sons were born one after another, but all, except the last one, were killed by the mother. When the eighth was born, the father, in spite of his promise not to protest against any of his wife's doings, remonstrated and the child was saved. Thereupon, the wife explained, that all the eight children were the eight *rasas*, thieves in heaven, who had stolen the *nandini* cow of a *rishi* and that they were therefore, for divine punishment, made to be born on earth. When punished, they apologized, and so, were permitted to return to heaven, but the eighth Dyan by name being the greatest offender, was not pardoned and was destined to remain on earth. All that was destined to happen did happen. However, Ganga brought up and trained the saved child as a good son most dutiful and affectionate to his father. One day, the father Shântanu while going about on the banks of Yamuna (Jamma) saw a lovely daughter of a fisherman and fell in love with her. The father agreed to give him his daughter Satyawati in marriage, provided, the King undertook, that the son that may be born be appointed heir. Shântanu could not agree to let his dutiful son Dyan to be superseded. Under the circumstances, the marriage could not take place. Dyan, finding that his father had become morose and dejected, inquired from his Minister, what the cause was. On learning it, he secretly went to the fisherman and asked him to give his daughter in marriage to his father, promising on his part, that he would let the male progeny of his father's second marriage succeed to the throne. The fisherman said that he accepted the prince's word, but what if the son or sons that may be born to the prince would not accept the arrangement? The dutiful son, in order to remove even that remote chance of a future objection, undertook never to marry and remained celibate. The gods in heaven blessed this dutiful son who thence came to be known as Bhishma : i.e. the terrible, because of the terrible vow he took for the sake of his father. The marriage took place. Two sons—Chitrangad and Vichitravirya—were the fruits of the marriage. When Shântanu died, Chitrangad came to the throne. Being a minor at the time, his elder step brother Bhishma acted as his protector. Chit-

rangad being killed in battle Vichitravirya came to the throne. "The mode of winning a wife at that time amongst Kshatriyas was that called a swayamvara or 'self choice'. Kings and princes used to be invited by the bride's father to his capital and they displayed their skill at games and their prowess in arms and performed great feats of strength. The bride witnessed them all, and chose him who pleased her most. Vichitravirya was too young to take part in such a competition but his mother being eager to see him married Bhishma took upon himself the task of finding him a queen. At a *swayamvara* he carried off by force three daughters of the king of Kashi, challenging all the assembled princes to wrest the girls from him if they could. The oldest of the three princesses having told Bhishma that she had taken a vow to marry another prince she was let go and the other two were married to Vichitravirya, who unfortunately died some time after. He left no issue and this caused the further grief of seeing the royal house heirless. To avoid this calamity, their mother Satyawati requested Bhishma to marry the widows of his step brother but he declined as he had under arrangement with Satyawati's fisherman father, taken a vow of celibacy. However to avoid the disappointment of seeing the royal line extinct Bhishma advised Satyawati to perform *nyoga* which was a practice¹ resorted to in emergency. The practice was, that when a person died heirless, somebody else for whom the family had a regard or affection, was asked to beget children to the widow. The children thus born were not the children of the new or second husband but of the deceased first husband. When so advised, Satyawati remembered Krishna Dipayana Vaisa her son by her former husband Parasha who was a great sage. When they parted this son had promised his mother to go to her help whenever she wanted help. She had only to think of him and he would appear. So during this emergency Satyawati thought of her son Vyasa and he appeared. The mother asked him to beget children to the widows of her deceased son Vichitravirya. He

1 The form of marriage referred to in this Indian story as *Chakravand* reminds us of an old Iranian form of marriage known as *Chakrazan*. The Indian form of marriage known as *Chakravand* is one in which when a person dies heirless somebody else for whom the family had regard or affection was asked to beget children to the widow of the deceased. When children were born of such an union they were taken to be the children of the deceased husband. Of the five kinds of wife in ancient Persia some of which are referred to in the Pahlavi books and which are explained in some detail in the Persian Rivāzeta one is known as the *Chakrazan*. The wife is a widow who marries again. If she has no children by her first husband she marries a second husband stipulating that half her children by the second husband should be taken as belonging to the first husband. In the other world she herself continues to belong to the first husband. *Pt 1 & B E Vol V p 14ⁿ n 10*

consented. But as he was very ugly and was therefore called Krishna, i.e., black, the widows did not like that he should beget children, but, on the request of their royal mother in law and for the sake of saving the royal line from extinction, they consented. They were excused the whole year's purificatory penances, as their toleration of Vyâsa's ugliness was in itself a penance¹. The elder widow, in order to avoid the sight of the ugly man with whom she had to associate against her will, shut her eyes for the time being. Vyâsa predicted for her son a blind son, who on being born was named Dhritarashtra. The younger widow, on looking at the ugly associate, turned pale. The son born to her was born pale and he was named Pandu, the pale. The queen wished for a third son, perhaps because one was blind and the other was pale. But the elder widowed daughter in law, in order to avoid being with the ugly man, sent one of her maids to Vyâsa. This maid reverently submitted and so a good saintly son was born to her and was named Vidura.

Bhishma looked after the education of these brothers who turned out learned as well as sportsmenlike. Dhritarashtra, being blind, the second son Pandu came to the throne. He married two wives, Kuntî and Madri, but, once, having shot a stag when it was coupling with its mate, received a curse that if he lived with his wives, he would soon die. So, he went into retirement in a jungle followed by his wives even there. When there for some time, he began to wish that he may have children. His wife Kuntî said, that she knew a mantra, by the recital of which he could summon gods Dharma (god of justice), Vayu (god of wind) and Indra, the king of all gods to come and live with her. The result was the birth of three sons, Yudhishtira, Bhima and Arjun. The second wife Mâdri also, by virtue of the mantra taught to her by Kuntî, summoned the twins Aswins and the result was the birth of two sons, Nakula and Sahadewa. Kuntî had already a son Karna, born from the sun before her marriage with Pandu. It was this son, who, as described in Mahabhârata, fought against the sons of Pandu. Pandu died as the result of the abovementioned curse, having one day embraced his Madri. His wife also thereupon committed suttee.

The account of the second case of Swayamvara runs as follows — King Drupada had heard much of Arjuna's skill as an archer and wanted to give him his daughter Draupadi in marriage. But he wished that she should be won in a swayamvara. He made a great bow which he thought none but Arjuna could bend, and placed on a lofty pole a revolving fish whose eye was

to be the mark. He who could hit was to marry his daughter. A great crowd of kings assembled for the contest, but all failed to bend the bow. Then Karna stepped forward and strung it and took aim with an arrow. Just as the Pandava brothers, who had so far not come forward and were disguised as Brahmins, were giving way to despair, Draupadi spoke in clear accents — 'I will not take a low born man for my husband.' At this, Karna put down the bow and went away, but Arjuna came forward looking like a Brahman, lifted the bow, drew it, and hit the mark. Flowers rained from heaven, and Draupadi put a garland of sweet flowers round Arjuna's neck as a sign of her choice. The crowd of kings protested that a Brahman must not carry off a Kshatriya girl and fought for her possession, but the Pandavas defeated them all and carried the bride home.

Now I come to the story of the Shâh nâmeh. The King Gushtâsp of the Shâh nâmeh is the King Vishtâsp of the Avesta. He was the son of Lohrâsp the Aurvat aspa of the Avesta. He was the father of Aspadjâr, the Spento dâta of the Avesta. In one point, we find a parallel between the story of these three kings and that of the Mogul Emperors Jehangir, Shâh Jahân and Aurangzebe. Shâh Jahân was an undutiful son of Jehangir. In turn, he was ill treated by his son Aurangzebe. Gushtâsp also was an undutiful son, who wanted the throne of Persia in the life time of his father. In turn, his son Aspadjâr wanted his throne in his life time. When Kaikhusro, who, in the matter of his retirement from the world, is compared to Yudhishthira,¹ abdicated the throne of Persia and retired childless into a wilderness, he, setting aside, as heirs to the throne, other descendants of his grand father Kai Kâus, appointed as his heir, Lohrâsp who was descended from a brother of Kâus. Lohrâsp was unknown to the courtiers, but Kaikhusro thought highly of him as a good successor. Lohrâsp on coming to the throne repaid Kaikhusro's kindness towards him by showing special favours to the other heirs who were displaced. Thereupon his son Gushtâsp felt offended. He did not like that his royal father should love his distant nephews more than himself. Fearing lest he may displace him and appoint somebody else from the family of Kâus as his heir, he began to quarrel with his father and asked for the throne in his life time. His wishes not being complied with, he left the royal court to come to India, but he was pursued by his uncle Zarir, persuaded and taken back. He again left the court,

¹ *I. Fide Journal B. B. R. A. Soc. Vol. XVII. Abstract of Proceedings pp. II, IV. Journal Asiatique (1887) Huitième série. Tome X. pp. 33-2.*

and, under an assumed name of Farrokhzâd, went to the country of Roum. There, when he sat one day homeless and friendless hemoaning his fallen fortune, the headman of the village, being struck with his manly and noble appearance, befriended him and took him to his own place as his guest.

Now, the royal custom with the Kaisar, the ruler of that land, for the marriage of his daughters was as follows —

The King called in his palace an assembly (اجلاس) of young men of position and wisdom, and the princess chose from among them a young man for her husband. The then Kaisar had three beautiful daughters, the eldest of whom was named Kaitayun. He called an assembly of young men from whom Kaitayun can choose her husband. The night before the day of the assembly she dreamt as follows. Her country was illuminated by the sun. There assembled a gathering of young men, so large, that even the Pleiades would make way before it. In that assembly there was a foreigner, who, though poor and distressed, was very wise. He was as straight and tall as a cypress and as beautiful as the moon. His demeanour and manner of sitting were such as befitted a king sitting on his throne. She (Kaitayun) presented a nosegay of myrtle coloured fragrant flowers to him and received one from him."

The next morning the princess went with her 60 court ladies to the assembly of the young men convened by her father, to choose a husband for herself. She held a nosegay of roses in her hand. She moved about among the young men but found none whom she could like for marriage. She returned to her palace, dejected and disappointed for not having found a husband to her liking.

When the Kaisar learnt that his daughter found no young man to her liking from among the young men of the first rank in wealth and nobility he called another assembly, to which he invited young men of the second grade or the middle class. The notice convening this second assembly was given in the city and in the adjoining country. Thereupon the host of Gushtasp pressed him to go to that assembly with him. Gushtasp accompanied him and sat in a corner a little dejected. The princess went in the assembly with her court ladies and moved about among the people till at length, she came near Gushtasp. She saw him and said 'The secret of that dream is solved.' She then placed her crown on the head of Gushtasp and chose him as her husband. The prime minister of the Kaisar, learning this hastened towards his royal master and said 'Kaitayun has chosen from among the assembly a young man who is as erect

as a cypress, and as handsome as a rose and has a commanding stature; whoever sees him admires him. One may say, that the glory of God shines in his face. But we do not know who he is."

The Kaiser, finding that the young man was an unknown foreigner, did not like the choice. His minister tried his best to persuade him, that he could not now act against the usual royal custom of selection, but to no purpose. The king then handed over Kaitāyun to the young man without any dowry or gift and asked both to leave his court. Gushtāsp, seeing what had happened, tried on his part to dissuade the princess, saying he was a poor man. Kaitāyun thereupon said: "Do not be distressed with what our fate has destined. When I am contented with thee, why do you ask me to choose, as husband, one with the prospects of a crown or throne?" The couple then left the royal palace and Gushtāsp's host kindly made proper lodging arrangements for the couple at his house. Though the king had given nothing as dowry or gift, the princess had very rich jewellery on her body when she left her royal father's palace. With that, she tried to set up her new house and to live with her husband pretty comfortably. Gushtāsp often went a hunting and presented the game he killed to his friends.

After this event, the Kaiser did away with the above custom, and for the marriage of his two other daughters he himself tried to find out proper husbands. One Mirān, a member of a high family, asked for the hand of the Kaiser's second daughter. The king said to the suitor, that he would accept his offer if he achieved a great deed. He asked him to prove his bravery and fitness by killing a ferocious wolf in the adjoining village of Fāskuu. Mirān had not the required courage and strength to do so. So, through the intercession of a mutual friend, he got the wolf killed by the brave foreigner, Gushtāsp. He then went before the king, and, claiming the credit of killing the ferocious wolf, asked the king's daughter in marriage. The king acting according to his promise, brought about the marriage.

One Ahran also married the third daughter of the Kaiser, similarly seeking the help of brave Gushtāsp for killing a ferocious snake which caused terror in the adjoining country.

The Kaiser occasionally held athletic sports in an open place which were open to all sportsmen of his country. At the desire of Kaitāyun, Gushtāsp attended one of these, and by displaying his courage, strength and intelligence, drew the admiration of all. He also drew the admiration of the king himself, who was

then soon reconciled with his son in law Gushtâsp had still continued to be known under the name of Farrokhzâd, but an embassy from Persia from the court of Lohrasp, who was challenged to war by the Kaisar at the instigation of Farrokhzâd (Gushtasp), divulged the whole secret. The Kaisar became glad when he knew all the facts, and was proud of his matrimonial alliance with the royal family of Persia.

There seem to be several points of similarity as well as difference in the Swayamvara cases referred to in the Indian and Persian stories. In the story of Gushtasp, we observe a new trait, viz., that of the dream of Kaitâyun. Again, the first assemblies or Anjumans are without athletic sports. It is later on, that there is the assembly where athletic sports take place and where Gushtâsp by his extraordinary sportsmanlike feats wins the favour of his royal father in law. Again, just as Bhishma by his bravery won two daughters of the King of Kashi for the two princes, so did Gushtâsp win the two daughters of the Kaisar for two princes. The garlanding of the chosen husband by the princess is common to the Indian and Persian cases. In both the stories, the question of the position of the family of the bridegroom is attended to. In the Indian case, it is the bride herself who is solicitous about it.

ART. IV.—*Archery in Ancient Persia —A Few Extraordinary Feats*

(Read 24th January 1916.)

The subject of this paper is suggested by an interesting article on Taxila as a Seat of Learning in the Pali Literature," by Mr Bimaha Charan Law in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series Vol XII, 1916 No 11) Taxila was the place which "pupils from different parts of India used to visit for learning various arts and sciences" From a para in the article, entitled "Archery," we learn that archery also was taught at Taxila Some feats in archery are specially mentioned e g, (a) that of bringing down a mango from the top of a tree, (b) piercing by one arrow four plantain plants kept on four sides These feats remind one of such feats of archery among the ancient Persians, especially of the feats of King Bahramgour I will speak on my subject under two heads I Archery among the ancient Persians as referred to in the Avesta and elsewhere and II A few feats of Archery referred to by Firdousi and others

I

Archery as referred to in the Avesta

The ancient Iranians learned Archery from their very childhood Herodotus says that "Beginning from the age of five years to twenty, they instruct their sons in three things only to ride to use the bow and to speak the truth" Herodotus in his account of Xerxes' expedition against the Greeks thus speaks of the dress and arms of the ancient Persians "On their heads they wore loose coverings called tiaras on the body various coloured sleeved breast-plates, with iron scales like those of fish and on their legs loose trousers and instead of shields bucklers made of osiers,

1 Herodotus *EL* I 136 Carey's translation (1889) p 61

2 *J II Dh VII* 61 p 433

then soon reconciled with his son-in-law. Gushtâsp had still continued to be known under the name of Farrokhzad, but an embassy from Persia from the court of Lohrâsp, who was challenged to war by the Kaisar at the instigation of Farrokhzâd (Gushtasp), divulged the whole secret. The Kaisar became glad when he knew all the facts, and was proud of his matrimonial alliance with the royal family of Persia.

There seem to be several points of similarity as well as difference in the Śwayamvara cases referred to in the Indian and Persian stories. In the story of Gushtâsp, we observe a new trait, viz., that of the dream of Kaitâyun. Again, the first assemblies, or Anjumans are without athletic sports. It is later on, that there is the assembly where athletic sports take place and where Gushtâsp by his extraordinary sportsmanlike feats wins the favour of his royal father-in-law. Again, just as Bhishma by his bravery won two daughters of the King of Kashi for the two princes so did Gushtâsp win the two daughters of the Kaisar for two princes. The garlanding of the chosen husband by the princess is common to the Indian and Persian cases. In both the stories, the question of the position of the family of the bridegroom is attended to. In the Indian case, it is the bride herself who is solicitous about it.

Fr. e *tendre*, Guj सान्नु *Tānvun* to stretch The bow string
is *jya*, Sans ज्या Pers جيا, The material of the bow string
was cow gut (*grvaçnahê snārya jya*)¹

For the arrow we find the following words in the Avesta :

- (a) *ainghimana*² from the root *nh* or *nç* (Sans अस) to throw
- (b) *açti*³ from root *aç* to throw
- (c) *ishu*⁴ (Sans इषु) from the root *ish*, Sans इष to throw
- (d) *tigra*⁵ Pers تير (*tij*) from foot *tij* Sans तिर to sharpen (from which root 'tj,' come the English words, *stimulate, instigate*)

As to the material of the arrows, we read of the arrows being vulture feathered, gold pointed or yellow pointed, horn handled and iron bladed (*lahrkâçô parênanâm, zaranyo zafram, çravî stayâm, ayanghaêna sparêgha*)⁶

We learn from the Avesta and Pahlavi books, that the Symbolic signification of a bow and arrow weapons of war which an Iranian soldier (rathaéshtâr) carried, were metaphorically or symbolically taken to be the weapons of a priest (Athravan) to fight against evil. In the Khorshed Yasht (Yt VI 5) one praises the *vazra* or *gurz*, i.e., the mace, for striking it upon the heads of the *Daêvas* or evil doers. So, in the case of the bow and arrow, they are taken to be symbolical for mental perfection and the spirit of liberality. We read in the Mino Kherad the following question and answer

The question is "How is it possible to make Auharmazd, the arch angels, and the fragrant well pleasing heaven more fully for oneself? And how is it possible to make Aharman the wicked, and the demons confounded?" In reply, it is said that that can be done "when they make the spirit of wisdom a protection for the back, and wear the spirit of contentment on the body, like arms and armour and valour and make the spirit of truth a shield the spirit of thankfulness a club the spirit of complete mindfulness a bow, and the spirit of liberality

22. 257271.

27.

1 *Ibid* 123

2 *Yacna* LVII 29

3 *Meher Yasht*, (Yt X 115)

4 *Meher Yasht* (Yt X 21).

5 *Tir Yasht* (Yt VIII) 6

6 *Meher Yasht* (Yt X, 129).

7 Chap XLIII 1 12. West S B E., XXIV, pp. 83-84

and under them their quivers were hung. They had short spears, long bows and arrows made of cane and besides daggers suspended from the girdle on the right thigh.

Prof Jackson thus speaks of the evidence presented by the ancient monuments on the subject of bows and arrows and quivers. 'The large quiver is prominent in the figures of the Dieulafoix archers and in the case of the sculptures on the Behistan rock. In both these instances the quiver is suspended from the back. The quiver merely as arrow holder, is alluded to in Aeschylus Persæ 1001-3. The bow appears in most of the sculptures and monuments, and is naturally mentioned as an important weapon in Iranian as in other ancient writers. On the monuments the bow is usually represented as strung and as suspended at the left shoulder. The arrows are naturally mentioned again and again in connection with the bow. Herodotus says that the Persian arrows were made of reed, in the Iranian writings there seems to be no mention of the material from which the shaft is made, but the weighing and tipping of the arrow is described. In the Avesta (Yd XIV 9) the number of darts carried in the quiver is thirty.'¹

The Avesta² gives a list of twelve weapons used by the ancient Iranians. Therein we find 'the fourth a bow the fifth a quiver with shoulder belt and thirty brass headed arrows'.³ 'Falcon winged arrows (*ishavascha êre ifjo parena*) are mentioned in one place⁴ in connection with the bow. In another place⁵ we read of vulture feathered gold notched lead poised arrows. The Fravardin Yasht⁶ speaks of the Irava shus as affording protection against well aimed arrows' (*ishush hvathakhto*).

The Avesta word for a bow is *thanvare*⁷ or *thanvara*⁸ or *thanvana*⁹ or *thanvareti*¹⁰ (Sanskrit धनु इन्धनस) from the root *tan* (Sans तन, P *tanādan* Lat *tendere*,

¹ Prof Jackson's article on Herodotus VII 61 on the Arms of the Ancient Persians Illustrated from Iranian Sources in the Volume of the Classical Studies in honour of Henry Driester (1891 pp 92-122) p 100

² Vendidad XIV 9 ³ S B E (1880) Vol IV p 169

⁴ Vend XVII 9 10 *Ibid* p 183.

⁵ Meher Yasht (Yt. X) 129 *Vide* Prof Jackson's above article p 102

⁶ Yt XIII 72.

⁷ Vend dad XVII 9 10 ⁸ Vend XIV 9 ⁹ Meher Yasht (Yt X, 39) ¹⁰ *Ibid* 123

Her life was saved by the mercy of a minister, who allowed her to retire to a small village on the side of a hill. She lodged in an upper room, to which she ascended by twenty steps. On her arrival she bought a small calf, which she carried up and down the stairs every day. This exercise was continued for four years, and the increase of her strength kept pace with the increasing weight of the animal. Baharam, who had supposed her dead, after a fatiguing chase stopped one evening at this village. She was a young woman carrying a large cow up a flight of twenty steps. He was astonished and sent to inquire how strength so extraordinary had been acquired by a person of so delicate a form. The lady said she would communicate her secret to none but Baharam, and to him only on his condescending to come alone to her house. The king instantly went, on his repeating his admiration of what he had seen, she bade him not lavish praises where they were not due. Practice makes perfect,' said she, in her natural voice, and at the same time lifted up her veil. Baharam recognised and embraced his favourite. Pleased with the lesson she had given him, and delighted with the love which had led her to pass four years in an endeavour to regain his esteem, he ordered a palace to be built on the spot, as a hunting seat, and a memorial of this event " 1

The story, as given by Firdousi, says that the woman in the Firdousi's version of this story was neither Bahram's favourite wife nor his queen. She was a favourite flute player. The place of the story was Arabia and the time his boyhood when he was under the tutelage of Naaman (نعمان) at the Court of Manzar (منذر). The story as heard by Malcolm, seems to be another version of it. Firdousi's story runs as follows: " Baharam, who was a very clever hand in hunting, went one day to the chase with Izdeh, a woman of Roum who was his favourite flute player. He came across two antelopes, one male and the other female. Baharam asked Izdeh, 'Which of the two you wish me to aim at?' She replied, 'A brave man never fights with antelopes, so you better turn with your arrows the female into a male and the male into a female. Then when an antelope passes by your side you aim at him an arrow in such a way, that it merely touches his ear without hurting it, and that when he lays down his ear over the shoulder and raises his foot to scratch it, you aim another arrow in such a way as to pierce the head, the shoulder and the foot all at the same time.' Baharam had with him an arrow with two points. He aimed it

1 Malcolm's History of Persia, 2nd ed. (1839) Vol I p 94 n 1

2 Vide my paper on The Education among the Ancient Iranians p 14

The fact, that the bow and arrow were held as symbols for Symbolic signifi- some mental qualities or virtues, is illus-
 cation of a bow trated by some semi religious Achæmenian
 and arrow upon sculptures There, in the midst of some
 Iranian Monu religious associations, a king is represented
 ments. as drawing his bow with all his possible
 strength That signifies that one must do his level best in his
 line of life and do good to others Dr Bartholomao has very
 suggestively put this figure on some of his Iranian publications
 with the words under it "Wie du kannst so wolle" i.e.,
 "Wish as thou canst" The signification is 'The more you
 draw your bow with all your possible strength, the more
 distant will the arrow go So, put forth all possible energy in
 your work and the result will be proportionately good

II

Some Extraordinary Feats in Archery

We will now describe some feats of archery, attributed to king Bahramgour by Firdousi and other Persian writers Bahram gour was a typical Iranian possessing masterly skill in archery The poet thus refers to him in the words of a translator

"The Lion and the Lizard keep

The Courts where Jamsheyd glomed and drank deep ,
 And Bahram that great Hunter—the Wild Ass
 Stamps o'er his head but cannot break his sleep "

His name was Bahram but he was called Bahram Gour, because he was very fond of killing the gour, گرر i.e., the wild ass in the hunt

Sir John Malcolm one of the distinguished past-Presidents of our Society and a Governor of our city, thus describes an anecdote of one of Bahramgour's hunting feats in archery as heard by him during one of his visits of Persia, at a known hunting seat of Bahram

"Baharam proud of his excellence as an archer, wished to display it before a favourite lady He
 Malcolm's story carried her to the plain an antelope was soon found asleep The monarch shot an arrow with such precision as to graze its ear The animal awoke and put his hind hoof to the ear, to strike off the fly by which he conceived himself annoyed Another arrow fixed his hoof to his horn Baharam turned to the lady, in expectation of her praises she coolly observed, *Neelo kurdan z pur kurdan est*, 'Practice makes perfect' Enraged at this uncourtly observation the king ordered her to be sent into the mountains to perish

Her life was saved by the mercy of a minister, who allowed her to retire to a small village on the side of a hill. She lodged in an upper room, to which she ascended by twenty steps. On her arrival she bought a small calf, which she carried up and down the stairs every day. This exercise was continued for four years, and the increase of her strength kept pace with the increasing weight of the animal. Baharam, who had supposed her dead, after a fatiguing chase stopped one evening at this village. She was a young woman carrying a large cow up a flight of twenty steps. He was astonished and sent to inquire how strength so extraordinary had been acquired by a person of so delicate a form. The lady said she would communicate her secret to none but Baharam, and to him only on his condescending to come alone to her house. The king instantly went, on his repeating his admiration of what he had seen, she bade him not lavish praises where they were not due. 'Practice makes perfect,' said she, in her natural voice, and at the same time lifted up her veil. Baharam recognised and embraced his favourite. Pleased with the lesson she had given him, and delighted with the love which had led her to pass four years in an endeavour to regain his esteem, he ordered a palace to be built on the spot, as a hunting seat, and a memorial of this event " 1

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1 Malcolm's History of Persia, 2nd ed. (1839) Vol. I p. 91 n. 1

2 Fide my paper on 'The Education among the Ancient Iranians' p. 14

at the male in such a way that it carried away his two horns and gave him the appearance of a female. Then he threw two arrows at the female antelope in such a clever way, that they struck her head and struck themselves over it so as to give her the appearance of a male with two horns. Then he aimed his arrow at another antelope, so as to merely touch his ears. The animal raised his foot to scratch his ear, when Baharîm aimed at him another arrow, so cleverly, that he hit the head, the ear and the foot all at the same time. The woman thereupon shed tears from her eyes, saying it was inhuman on the part of Baharam to have so killed the poor animal. Thus enraged Baharam who had done all this at her bidding. He said 'It is all a deceit on your part. If I had failed in doing what you ordered me to do, my family would have been put to shame.' With these words he immediately killed her.

Madame Dieulafoy, in her "*La Perse, La Chaldée et La Susiane*" (p. 357), gives a painting illustrating the above story. She found it decorating a door frame in a house which she occupied in the valley of Eclid. Her painting entitled "*Rencontre de Baharam et de son ancienne favorite*" gives us a picture of the favourite woman in the story, carrying the calf on her back over the steps.

Taharî¹ describes another archery feat of Behramgour. "One day Behramgour, when he was in Arabia in his boyhood with the Arab King Manzar, went a hunting. He saw a wild ass running. It was being overtaken by a lion. The lion was on the point of devouring the ass. Behram then threw an arrow with such dexterity that it passed through the lion and the ass, and killed them both at the same time. Manzar is said to have ordered this hunting scene to be painted on the walls of the palace where Behramgour lived."

The Avesta speaks of a famous archer whose arrow went along an enormous distance. He is referred to in the Tir Yasht, the Yasht in honour of Tir or Tishtrya, the star Sirius, whose enormous speed is compared to that of the arrow (*tir*) thrown by him on a historical occasion. We read as follows:

Tishtrim starem raêventem Lharenaughantem yazamaidê yô
 avavat khshvraêwô vazâiti avi zrayo vouru kashem yatha tigrish
 mainivaçao yim anghat Erekhsho khshaviwi ishush khshviwi
 ishvatemo Airyanam Airyô Khshaothat hacha garoit khanvan

tem avi gairim (Tir Yasht Yt VIII, 6 We read the same passage again later on (s 37) in the same yasht with the addition of two words "âçñ khshavaêwem khshviwi vazem" i.e., "swift-running and swift going" as further adjectives for Tishtrya)

Translation—We invoke the brilliant shining star Tishtrya which moves as fast towards the Vourukasha (the Caspian) Sea, as the mental arrow (i.e., the arrow whose speed cannot be measured but only mentally conceived) which was of Erekhsha, the swift Iranian the swiftest (Iranian) archer among all the Iranians (who threw it) from the Khshaotha mountain to the Khanvant mountain

The feat of archery by a great Iranian archer referred to here, is that of throwing an arrow from one mountain to another distant mountain We are not in a position, on the authority of Avesta or Pahlavi books, to identify the two mountains—Khshaotha and Khanvant—and the distance between them But the Arab historian Tabari helps us in this matter, and throws much light upon this passage of the Avesta, which otherwise would have remained much obscure We learn the following details from this historian ¹

Minocheher, the Iranian king who was fighting in a war with Afrasiab, the Turanian king, was besieged in the fort of Amoul in the province of Tabaristan ² The siege lasted long, because Minocheher and his army could get and grow in the fort, all the articles of food except pepper The want of pepper which grew in Hindustan was, on the advice of the sages of Minocheher, met by the use of ginger and of a plant named *term* (*طرم*) which grew there So, the siege lasted for ten years According to Tabari, Minocheher the besieged sovereign even sent a few things as presents to Afrasiab He says 'Minocheher remained in the castle, and was not once (during the ten years) obliged to procure either clothing or food from any other place, for he possessed there such a superfluity of garments carpets, herbs, and vegetables of every kind that he occasionally sent some as presents to Afrasiab, thus saying 'how longsoever you may continue before the gates of this city, I cannot suffer any injury, defended by so strong a castle'' ³ At the end of ten years, Afrasiab raised the siege, because there was a great loss of life in his troops, owing to sickness, resulting from the great humidity of the air round the besieged mountain Both the

¹ I follow Tabari traduit par Zotenberg Vol. I pp 77-80 Partie I Chap 63

² The Pahlavi Bundehehsh speaks of this fortress as situated on the mountain of Padashkhvargar Chap XXXI, 21-22. *Feds my Bundehehsh* pp 1 0-72.

³ Ouseley's Travels III, p 301

kings then made peace on the condition, that their frontiers may be fixed. It was arranged, that Minocheher may select the best of his Iranian archers, and direct him to throw an arrow from a peak of the Demavand¹. The place, i.e., a line extending both ways from the place where the arrow fell, may serve as the boundary line for the country under dispute. Minocheher found one Āresh to be the best archer in his country. He asked him to throw an arrow with all his force. He did so, and the arrow crossed the province of Tabaristan, Nishâpour, Sarakhs, Merv, and fell on the banks of the river Jehoun (جیئون). It was an extraordinary feat to throw an arrow hundreds of miles away. Afrâsiâh had to stand true to the condition and to accept the boundary thus fixed.

I give below the passage from a recent text of Tabari² which gives a simple narration of the story. His version saves the story from any kind of improbability in the matter of an enormous distance.

ارمن سري جيئون سواری تیراندازی بیکوسخت تیری ادا دارد
 آنجا که آن تیر بر زمین افتد حد ایرانیان باشد و بر دو ملک برین
 عهد بستند و صلحنامه نوشتند پس آرش را اختیار کردند و آرش
 مردی بود که از وی تیر ادا دار تر نبود و بر تلی شد که در آن حدود
 آن بلاد تر کوهی بست و تیری را نشان کردند و بدست داشت بول
 جیئون بر زمین آمد و آن چندی حدایی و انراستادان ارمن عمگس شه
 که چندان پادشاهی نمود چو راست داد

Translation — A horseman, who may be a good archer, may throw a strong arrow from this side of the Jehoun and that place, where the arrow falls, may form the boundary of the Īrans. Both the kings bound themselves in this agreement and wrote a treaty. Then they chose Āresh. Āresh was a man than whom there was no better archer. He went over a hill, than which there was no higher mountain in that region. They made a mark over the arrow and he (then) threw it, and it fell on the ground on the bank of the Jehoun (Oxus). It was a divine thing (i.e., a miracle) and Afrasiab became sorry, as he had to give up the sovereignty of that much country to Minocheher³.

¹ One must understand that the names Elburz and Demavand were at times, used for a very long range of mountains in Persia.

² Ousley also refers to the story from Tabari. Ousley's Travels in Persia, Vol. III, pp. 300, 333.

³ Munshi Naval Kishore's Text of 1874, p. 112, l. 24 et seq.

Mirkhond also refers to this feat in his *Rauz at us Safa* on the authority of *Tarikh Maogan*. We read there as follows ¹

مشروط بر آنکه آرشی از سر کوه دماوند بدمری ادا دارد هر جا که آن
دمر فرود آید واصلت مغان در مملکت آن متصل بود و آرشی بر فله
حبل دماوند رفته و بدمری بکتاب مشرق انگذده از سبب رها کرد و آن
دمر از وقت طلوع آفتاب تا بدمر و در حرکت رود و بنگم اسدرا بر کنار
حیثون افتاده هر چند این صورت از عقل عمد است اما چون مغان
احبار دین خبر ناظمی بود ثبت گشت

Translation — It was stipulated that Ārīsh should ascend Mound Damavend and from thence discharge an arrow towards the east and that the place in which the arrow fell should form the boundary between the two kingdoms. Ārīsh thereupon ascended the mountain and discharged towards the east an arrow the flight of which continued from the dawn of day until noon when it fell on the banks of the Jihun. As this incident though so remote from probability has been invariably recorded in the text of all historians it is therefore mentioned here ²

This extraordinary marvellous feat of archery has been attempted to be explained in various ways. Ouseley thus speaks on the subject. As that golden arrow of such classical celebrity which wafted Arbāsh through the air has been the subject of much learned conjectural explanation so we find that some have attributed the exploit of Ārēsh to magic or to the assistance of an angel whilst other ingenious commentators divest the story of its most marvellous circumstances and suppose the arrow to express figuratively that the Persians invaded and by their skill in archery obtained possession of the enemy's country that Ārēsh was the successful general that he determined the boundaries and that by the magic characters inscribed on his wonderful arrow nothing more is understood than the written orders which he dispatched with the utmost expedition to the farthest borders of Persia. Others however are willing to interpret the story more literally and on the authority of different chronicles Dowlet Shah informs us that the arrow was so contrived as to contain a chymical (chemical) mixture of quicksilver and other substances which when heated by the sun augmented the original force of projection in such a manner that it reached to Marv ³

¹ Naval Kishore's *Text of Mirkhond's Rauz at us Safa* Vol. I p. 166, l. 18.

² *History of the Early Kings of Persia, translated from the original Persian of Mirkhond* by Dav. Shea (1831) p. 15.

³ Ouseley's *Travels in Persia* Vol. III pp. 333-34.

Ousley speaks of "that golden arrow of such classical celebrity which wafted Abaris through the air" We learn as follows of this Abaris "Abaris, son of Southas, was a Hyperborean priest of Apollo and came from the country about the Caucasus to Greece, while his own country was visited by a plague In his travels through Greece, he carried with him an arrow as the symbol of Apollo

He is said to have ridden on his arrow, the gift of Apollo, through the air" May I suggest, that this classical Abaris is the same as Iranian Ārīsh? (a) The similarity of name suggests this thought (b) Again Abaris (Aris) is said to have come to Greece from the country about the Caucasus Now, the Mount Damāvend in the Iranian story is a peak of the Elhurz, which itself is a mountain in the range of the Caucasus (c) Dr James MacDonald, in his article on Druidism,² speaks of Abaris "the mysterious Hyperborean philosopher" as the friend of Pythagoras According to him, Pythagoras was instructed by the Druids who are spoken of as "a class of priests corresponding to the Magi or the wise men of the ancient Persians" The learning of Pythagoras, is, by some, connected with Persia and Persian sages So, this also suggests the connection of the classical Abaris with the Iranian Ārīsh

The improbability of the story seems to be fortunately well explained to some extent by Tabari He says "Some persons maintain, that this arrow, by virtue of the good fortune of Minocheber, happened to strike a vulture in the air, and that this bird fell and died on the banks of the Jehouu, that they afterwards found the arrow and carried it to Tabaristan"³ Another way in which the improbability is sought to be explained is, that, by mistake, one place is mistaken for another bearing the same name As we will see later on the particular place whence this arrow was thrown, was according to some writers, Amel or Amoul Now, there are two Amouls, one in the Transoxania near the river Jehouu, another in the west The arrow was possibly thrown from the Transoxanian Amoul which was latterly mistaken to be the western Amoul, thus creating a cause for improbability⁴

The Ārīsh mentioned in the works of the above Arab oriental writers is the Erekhsh of the Avesta The Parsis observe a festival called the Jashan-e Tirangan or Tirangān, on Tir the thirteenth day of their month Tir The word Tir, in the names of the day, the month and the festival, means an arrow in

¹ Dr Smith's Classical Dictionary

² Encyclopædia Britannica Vol VII p 473

³ I translate from the French translation of Zotenberg L. p. 230 Naval Kishore's

Text does not give this portion. ⁴ Vide Ousley's Travels, Vol. III pp. 333-34-

Pahlavi, Pazend and Persian. The Farbang-i-Jehangiri, as pointed out by Ousley,¹ says, that the festival was meant to commemorate the above feat of the arrow by the Persian archer. According to the Albiruni, the festival was celebrated for two reasons. One of these was for the celebration of the above extraordinary feat. He says as follows :

" On the 13th, or Tir-Rôz, there is a feast Tiragân, so called on account of the identity of the name of the month and the day. Of the two causes to which it is traced back, one is this, that Afrâsiâb, after having subdued Erânsbahr, and while besieging Minôcihr in Tabaristân, asked him some favour. Minôcihr complied with his wish, on the condition that he (Afrâsiâb) should restore to him a part of Erânsbahr as long and as broad as an arrow-shot. On that occasion there was a genius present called Isfandarmadh ; he ordered to be brought a bow and an arrow of such a size as he himself had indicated to the arrow-maker, in conformity with that which is manifest in the Avestâ. Then he sent for Ârish, a noble, pious, and wise man, and ordered him to take the bow and to shoot the arrow. Ârish stepped forward, took off his clothes, and said : " O King, and ye others, look at my body. I am free from any wound or disease. I know that when I shoot with this bow and arrow I shall fall to pieces, and my life will be gone, but I have determined to sacrifice it for you." Then he applied himself to the work, and bent the bow with all the power God had given him ; then he shot, and fell asunder into pieces. By order of God the wind bore the arrow away from the mountain of Rûyân and brought it to the utmost frontier of Khurâsân between Farghâna and Taharistân ; there it hit the trunk of a nut-tree that was so large that there had never been a tree like it in the world. The distance between the place where the arrow was shot and that where it fell was 1,000 Farsakh. Afrâsiâb and Minôcihr made a treaty on the basis of this shot that was shot on this day. In consequence people made it a feast-day".²

In a Persian book giving an account of the ancient Iranian feasts,³ wherein this feast of Tiragân is referred to, the feat of the above archer is thus spoken of :

اران خوانده آرشرا کماگیر
که از آمول مرو انداخت او تیر

¹ Vol. III, p. 333

² "The Chronology of Ancient Nations" of Albiruni translated by Dr. C. E. Sachau (1879) p. 203

³ Vide my lecture on "Zoroastrian Festivals," in my Ouzjerati "Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects," Part III, p. 132.

The above story as given in this Persian book runs as follows ' This Jashan is called 'Tirgan e Mehin' i.e. the great Tirgan Jashan. This Jashan falls on the day Tir of the month Tir. It was on this day that King Manucheher made peace with the Turanian King Afrasiab on condition that Afrasiab should give up to Manucheher so much of his dominions as would cover the distance of a fast flying arrow. Then ingenious persons made an arrow with great contrivance and it was put into the bow by Arish standing on a mountain near Tabristan and thrown in the direction of the rising sun the heat of which carried the arrow to the boundary line of Takharestan. In the words of a poet 'Arish is called Kamin Gir' i.e. a reputed archer, on this account, that he threw an arrow from Amel to Marv'. They say, that on this day (i.e. the Tirgan Jashan) the country covered by the flight of that arrow was given to Manucheher and the day was passed in revelry and rejoicing'.¹

According to this version of the story, the ingenuity consisted in the preparation of the arrow with such materials as would be chemically acted upon by the heat of the rising sun.

The *Mojmul al Tawarikh* speaks of a Arish Shrivatir (ارش شرواتی) Here Shrivatir is the Persian form of Shepak tir, which is the Pahlavi rendering of the word *khshvairishn* in the above Avesta passage of the Tir Yasht.²

In the *Shah nameh* of Firdousi we often come across the words Tir : Aresh (تیر آرش) i.e. the arrow of Aresh. This shows that the name of Arish (Ar Erekhsha) and his arrow have become proverbial. Among several uses of this kind we have the following in the accounts of the battle which Arjasp fought with Zarrir که زاریر گزشتی برتری آنکه بهشت آتشی Here Sam is referred to as the best mace man and Arish as the best archer. We find from Firdousi³ that Behram Chobin traced his descent from this great archer.

¹ *Memorial Volume* edited by me pp. 66-7. Paper on 'A few Parsee festivals (Jashans) according to an old Parsee manuscript' by Ervad Maneky Ruttonji Unval.

² *Études Iraniques* par Darm. teler Tome II, pp. 2-3. 1

³ Mohl. small ed. t. on VII, pp. 6 and 30.

ART V.—*An unpublished Mogul Inscription at
the Margalla Pass near Rawalpindi.*

(Read on the 17th October 1918)

I

On my return to Rawalpindi on my way back to Bombay from Kashmir, during my second visit of the beautiful valley in 1915, I had paid a short visit on 16th July 1915 to the excavations of Taxila situated at about 20 miles from Rawalpindi. On my way back from the excavations, I halted at the Margalla Pass which is situated at about 15 miles from Rawalpindi, to see there, the great monument in honour of General John Nicholson (died 23rd September 1857, aged 34) erected by his British and Indian friends to commemorate his services in the "four great wars for the defence of British India" and to commemorate "his civil rule in the Punjab" and "his share in its conquest"¹. As I had then in mind the movement of the erection at Sanjan, of a Memorial Column by my community to commemorate the event of the landing in Gujarat of our forefathers the Iranian Pilgrim fathers after the Arab conquest of Persia, I had some special interest in examining the structure of the monument. While going to the monument from an old Mogul road on the right I happened to see on my right, a Persian tablet in a rock. I asked the keeper in charge of the monument to produce a ladder so that I could examine and copy the inscription. I waited for some time, but as he could not turn up in time with the ladder and as I had to return to Rawalpindi in time to prepare for, and catch, the one o'clock train for Bombay, I had reluctantly to leave the place without

¹ *Male Indian Monumental Inscriptions Vol II Part I A List of Inscriptions on Christian tombs or Monuments in the Punjab N. W. F. Province Kashmir and Afghanistan* p 125 (Serial No 842).

satisfying my literary curiosity On coming to Bomhay, I looked into the *Rawalpindi Gazetteer*, if I could find the inscription therein I did not find the inscription itself but found a reference to it which runs as follows —“ At Mārgalla there is an old cutting through the hill crossing the Lahore and Peshawar Road The roadway is paved with flags of stone while a stone slab inserted into the wall on the side contains an inscription, which shows that the work was completed in 1083 A.H., corresponding with 1672 A.D., or about the time when the Emperor Aurangzeb marched to Hassan Abdal and sent his son Prince Sultan with an army against the Khattaks and other trans Indus tribes The pavement was no doubt a remarkable achievement in those days but it has been completely cast into the shade by the new cutting higher up to the east by our own engineers who have also constructed at the latter place a fine column to the memory of the late General John Nicholson ¹

Then on 29th September 1915 I wrote to the Commissioner of the Rawalpindi Division, requesting him to be good enough to refer me to any publication which gave the inscription and if it was not published anywhere, to kindly send me a copy from his records if it was there After some further correspondence the Commissioner, Lt Col (now Sir) F Popham Young kindly sent me with his letter, dated 13th November 1915 a report dated 10th November from the Tahsildar, Mr Hari Singh The report was accompanied with the text transliteration and translation at the hands of the Tahsildar and was received by the Commissioner through the Deputy Commissioner I beg to tender my best thanks to these officers for the trouble they so kindly took in this matter

The Deputy Commissioner in his communication to his Chief, dated 11th November 1915 hoped Mr Jamsetjee will now be satisfied Unfortunately or as it has turned out rather fortunately I was not satisfied because the Tahsildar said thus in his report I have tried to decipher this inscription which has been dimmed by time The inscription is engraved in bold relief and the constant exposure to rain and hail has washed away several letters and parts of words I have tried to make it out as far as possible but am doubtful about the words marked X The date given is 1080 It is probably Hijri and it would correspond with 1662 A.D. This was the fifth year of Aurangzeb's reign but I doubt very much whether this inscription could be meant for an Emperor This appears to be meant for some Khan and it may

¹ Punjab District Gazetteer Vol. XXVIII A Rawalpindi District (1901), p. 35.

be for Mahbat Khan, the famous Mogul general who was for some time Governor of Peshawar "

I visited Kashmir again for the third time this year,¹ and on my return to Rawalpindi from there, I took advantage of my stay there for a day and saw the inscription again leisurely on the 21st of July. I had the pleasure of the company and the assistance of Munshi Mahmud Din, the teacher of Persian in the Dennis High School at Rawalpindi and so, in the reading of the inscription, which I give below, I acknowledge with thanks his help in setting the reading of several words, here and there

II

First of all I give below a plan of the place at the Margalla Pass where the tablet is situated. It was kindly drawn, at the request of my host, Mr Nusserwanji J Boga, by Mr J Vesugar Assistant Engineer, P W D, at Rawalpindi. I beg to thank Mr Vesugar for it. To do justice to the Tahsildar, and to do justice to myself, as well as to place before the students another reading of a number of words here and there, I give, as an appendix, the reading and translation of the Tahsildar, which, in some places is evidently faulty. Of course, his reading was a hasty decipherment in the midst of work in response to the desire of his superiors, so his reading must be free from criticism. Had he known that his decipherment was required for some literary purpose, he would have perhaps been more cautious and careful. I repeat here my thanks for what he has kindly done.

On my way homewards and on my return to Bombay after my second visit to Margalla I wrote to the Archaeological Department of the Government of India and requested it to kindly send me an impression of the inscription. Dr D B Spooner the then Officiating Director General of Archaeology, kindly sent me, with his letter dated 14th September a copy of the inscription with its transliteration and translation. These were as sent by him in his letter, dated 14th October 1918, supplied to him by the Commissioner, Rawalpindi Division. I give these as an appendix, at the end to help the student to make his own selection of the reading. I have again asked for an impression which I have not received

¹ From 27th May to 21st July 1918 including the days of arrival at and departure from, Rawalpindi.

as yet It will be subsequently given if received I give below, my reading of the text and translation —

Text of the Tablet

بیمام

حاج قوی پندہ محتاب شکہ	شہر سر مستی او بابوان
در بل صا کلمہ آید بود	نا کتر چوچ بون بواصا
صاحب حاج را رووی شوی	نوسہ دہد چوچ برہ ہر رماں
نکب متدل اسی تاریخ سال	ناصر مہوش ہندوساں

۵

بہمام صدر اہمستہ میرانی داروہہ راسداں
احمد معمار و جوگداس و . شری
و دیالداں حواسا در سنہ ۱۸۳
مردمت شد

Translation

GOD THE POWERFUL

The Khan (who possesses) a powerful claw and awe inspiring dignity before whose claw the lion is powerless built in the hill of Markaleh which is linked³ with the high heavens⁴ a building which out of respect, is always honoured by the heavens⁵ The Mogul said *nasīya mehvash-i Hindustan* (i.e. the moon like face of Hindustan)⁶ for the date of its year

In the supervision of Mirza Muhammad Mirani the superintendent of ⁷ Ahmad the architect ⁸ and Jogdash and ⁹ Sharf and Dayaldas were ¹⁰
Prepared (i.e. finished) in the year 1083

1 The line here has d appeared It does not seem to be a running line, but a mere heading to the effect that now follow the name of the architect supervisor builder etc One or two words are legible *در* and *کا*

2 The reading is doubtful The first part *میرانی* seems to be clear The word may be *میرانی* or *میرانی* Mirani or Miran or it may be *میرانی*

3 Tau amān twin linked with

4 *Lut* which is a twin with the globe or dome of the high wheel i.e. which is high or as splendid as the heavens

5 *Lut* to which the sky gives a kiss every moment out of respect for it.

6 i.e. the building is a beautiful place of Hindustan

7 The word reads like *dasan*.

8 *Mirani* an architect a builder a mason

9 Not legible It seems to be the first part of a name ending in *Sharf*

10 The reading of the word is not clear though the last part *سا* is clear It seems to be a word signifying some petty officer under the architect or supervisor It seems that here three names are mentioned viz. (1) Jogdash and Sharf and Dayaldas as those of petty officers who served as overseers or as some officers of that kind I may add, that even the reading of the names is not certain

III

There are several matters in the inscription which require to be looked into. They are—

- (1) The date of the inscription
- (2) The identification of the place referred to in it as Markalch (مارکالہ).
- (3) Who is the Kh in referred to therein?
- (4) What is it that the inscription takes a note of?

Of the figures at the end of the tablet, giving the date, the last figure is not very clear. Elliot in his extracts from the *Wakiat-i-Jehan* gives, wherein, in the account of Jehangir's march in this district the hill of Margalla

(1) *The Date of the Tablet* is referred to gives in a footnote the date as A. H. 1084. The *Rawalpindi Gazetteer*, in its short reference to the tablet gives the date as 1083. The *Tahsildar* gives it as 1080 as quoted above. The *Archæological Department* also gives it as 1080. I think it is 1083. Both the *Tahsildar* and the *Archæological Department* give the chronogram in the 6th line of the inscription as نامه یورش بندوستان (Nama-i-yurush-i-Hindustan). The *Tahsildar* translates it as "of the invasion of Hindustan". The *Archæological Department* translates it as a writing on the conquest of India. This chronogram gives as follows 1188 as the date—

$$\begin{aligned} \text{و} &= 50 + \text{ا} = 1 + \text{م} = 40 + \text{ن} = 5 + \text{ی} = 10 + \text{و} = 6 + \text{ر} = \\ 200 + \text{ش} &= 300 + \text{ن} = 5 + \text{و} = 50 + \text{د} = 4 + \text{و} = 6 + \\ \text{و} &= 60 + \text{ت} = 400 + \text{ا} = 1 + \text{و} = 50 = 1188 \end{aligned}$$

Thus as the total comes to 1188 either their reading of the figures of the date at the end of the tablet must be wrong, or, the reading of the chronogram must be wrong. But both seem to be wrong.

The date as given by the *Rawalpindi Gazetteer* is correct but the writer has not given us his reading of the chronogram. My reading of the chronogram is نامه یورش بندوستان

"Nasiya malwah-i-Hindustan : i.e. the moon like face of Hindustan. The *abjad* calculation of this chronogram gives,

"1. The road has been improved since this Emperor's time. There is a substantial stone pavement through the pass, which from a Persian inscription on a rock appears to have been erected in A. H. 1084 by the strenuous and able Khan Shikoh. (Ellis's *History of India*, Vol. VI p. 310 n. 1).

as follows 1083 as the date which is the date I read at the end of the inscription

$$\begin{aligned} \text{U} &= 50 + \text{I} = 1 + \text{U} = 90 + \text{U} = 10 + \text{z} = 5 + \text{m} = 40 + \text{z} = 5 \\ + \text{و} &= 6 + \text{ش} = 300, + \text{٢} = 5 + \text{L} = 50 + \text{d} = 4 + \text{و} = 6 + \text{س} = \\ 60 + \text{ت} &= 400 + \text{I} = 1 + \text{U} = 50 = 1083 \end{aligned}$$

Thus my reading of the chronogram supports my reading of the date. Again, the chronogram as read by me gives some sense

IV

The Marhalah (ماركله) referred to in our tablet, is the modern Margalla Pass. It is the place the country round which was at one time occupied by the Ghakkari tribe, who played an important part in the early history of the Punjab. We read as follows in the *Pawalpindi Gazetteer* about Margalla. The Margalla Range which so far as it lies within the district is a continuation of a spur running through Hazara District about the junction of the Murree, Haripur and Rawalpindi Tahsil boundaries and runs in a south westerly direction across the north of the Pawalpindi Tahsil. For most of its course through this tahsil it maintains a height of over 200 feet and derives from the steepness of its sides and the suddenness with which it starts up from the level fertile plain below its somewhat impressive appearance. As it approaches the Attock border the range begins to sink down. About 10 miles north west of Pawalpindi it is crossed by the Margalla Pass which carries the Grand Trunk Road and is marked by a conspicuous monument to General John Nicholson.

In the *Hakikat-i-Jelangiri* Margalla is thus referred to — The camp moved to Kala pani which means in Hindi black water. On this march there occurs a hill called Margalla. War in Hindi signifies to rob on the highway and galla a caravan, that is it is a place where caravans are plundered. Up to this extends the country of the boundary of the Gakhurs.

V

As to the Khan referred to in the tablet Elliot in the footnote referred to above takes him to be an Khan Mahabat Shikoh. It appears that the Khan is Mahabat Khan of the time of Aurangzeb. The date of the

1 The Ghakkars are spoken of also as Gakhars Gakhurs Gakhars Ghakars Gakhars and Abkhars.

2 *Pawalpindi Gazetteer* Part I p. 7.

3 Elliot Vol VI p. 10. See also The Tuzak-i-Jahan, p. 1069 and Fleverhage Vol I p. 92.

tablet is as we saw above 1083. So it belongs to the time of Aurangzeb. Though his name is not mentioned directly as such in the tablet it is indirectly mentioned as is at times the way of some Persian poet inasmuch as he is spoken of as *mahabat luluh* i.e. of awe inpiring dignity. The writer has ingeniously used the word *malabat* both directly as a common noun signifying his position status or influence and indirectly, as his proper noun.

The following is an epitome of an account of Mahabat Khan's life as given in the *Mausir ul Umarā* of Nawab Sir Muhammad Daulah Shah Nawaz Khan¹. His whole name was Mahabat Khan Mirza Lohrip. He was the bravest of the sons of Mahabat Khan Khan Khuman. As a youth in the reign of Shah Jahan he accompanied his father in the conquest of Daulatabad as a commander of 2000 troops. After the death of his father he was appointed to various places among which one was the Faujdar of Oudh. He was then appointed on a post in Kandhar. In the 24th year of the reign of Shah Jahan i.e. in 1652 he was made a Mir Balashir. Up to the 25th year of the reign (1653) he was known as Lohriasp Khan. In this year after being honoured with the title of Mahabat Khan he was appointed viceroy (Sibah) of Kabul. In 1657 he was appointed governor of Deccan under Aurangzeb. He took part in the war with Bijapur and in the siege of Bilal. He had a great hand in the defeat of the Bijapur army under Afzul Khan. Soon after he received a message from Dara Shikoh the eldest prince that he was wanted by Shah Jahan and so he went by quick marches to the Emperor's Court. He was then (Hijri 1065 A.D. 1657-58) appointed to the viceroyalty of Kabul. In the 35th year of Aurangzeb's reign (1663-64) he returned to the royal court. He was then appointed viceroy of Gujarat. In the 41st year of Aurangzeb's reign (A.D. 1669) he was again appointed viceroy of Kabul. In the 45th year of the reign (A.D. 1672) he returned to the royal court at Aligarh. When Shivaji began his depredation including therein the plundering of Surat he was sent to the Deccan to punish him. He punished the Mahratha chief. A short time after the Afghans of the mountains round Kabul rose in rebellion and Mahamud Amin Khan Governor of Afghanistan was defeated in the Khyber Pass. Mahabat Khan who had a previous experience of the mountaineers was thereupon called from the Deccan and in the 46th year of the reign (A.D. 1673) was sent to Kabul for the

¹ Bengal Asiatic Society's Text edited by Maulavi Mirza Asraf Ali (1891) Vol. III pp. 390-91

settlement (*band o bast*) of the affairs of Kabul. But instead of fighting with and molesting the Afghan army on his way to Kabul, he evidently avoided a fight and went to Kabul safely by another route. Aurangzeb did not like this. So, in the 17th year of the reign (A.D. 1674), he himself went to Hassan Abdal. Mahabat Khan then attended the royal court and was placed under the orders of Birsangli, the grandson of Raja Bahadur Das Kur.

The above is the outline of the life of Mahabat Khan as given in the *Maasir ul Umara*. To properly understand that life, especially to properly understand his connection with the Afghan frontiers, in a locality of which we find his tablet, we will examine some further details.¹

In 1636, a treaty was made by Shah Jahan, the Moghul Emperor at Delhi, with Adil Shah, the king of Bijapur, whereby the latter was acknowledged as a friendly ally and his sovereignty was left unimpaired to him. Several royal customs were special to the Court of the Emperors of Delhi. For example, (a) they alone could hold their courts in palaces or places outside the citadel. Other kings were to hold their courts within their citadels. (b) They alone held elephant combats in the open ground outside the fort, the other kings holding them within the fort. (c) The Emperors only could confer the title of Khan Khanan upon their previous ministers. The king of Bijapur latterly began to act in opposition to these customs and acted as if he were an Emperor. So Shah Jahan called upon him not to do so. Adil Shah first defied Shah Jahan but soon yielded. The quarrel was thus averted but that only for a few years. It began again in the reign of Adil Shah's successor, Ali Adil Shah II. In the meantime Shah Jahan's son Aurangzeb had by his intrigues and bribes, won over some of the nobles of the Court of Bijapur. It was in the war declared in 1657, against Bijapur, that we first find Mahabat Khan taking an active part at the direction of prince Aurangzeb. At the head of an army of 15 000 soldiers this Moghul general ravaged a part of the Bijapur territory and, later on, gained other victories over the Bijapur armies.² We then find that, soon after the above victories Mahabat Khan retired from Aurangzeb's army and went away to Agra without giving any notice to Aurangzeb.

¹ Vide III of a. III to 3 of India and Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb* in three volumes.

² Vide Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb* Vol. I ch. 36 VL for further details of Mahabat Khan's part in the war with Bijapur.

This was in the 32nd year of Shah Jahan's reign (1068 Hijri, 1657 58 A D) ¹ Shah Jahan fell ill on 6th September 1657 and was as it were, on death bed for one week. Then began a war of succession among his sons Dara, Shuja Aurangzeb and Murad even in his life time. He had declared his wish that Dara, the eldest son should succeed him. The other sons jointly and severally opposed that nomination. Aurangzeb marched, against the capital took it and in June 1658 made his father a prisoner. Shah Jahan continued as prisoner for seven years till the time of his death on 22nd January 1666. Aurangzeb was declared Emperor in July 1658. His formal installation was in May 1659. It was in the account of this captivity that we read of Mahabat Khan again. He was then the governor of Kabul. We thus read in the *Muntakhabul Lubab* Shah Jahan, while in confinement wrote secretly to Mahabat Khan Governor of Kabul. Dara Shukoh is proceeding to Lahore. There is no want of money in Lahore there is abundance of men and horses in Kabul and no one equal to Mahabat Khan in valour and generalship. The Khan ought therefore, to hasten with his army to Lahore and having there joined Dara Shukoh they might march against the two undutiful sons to inflict upon them the due reward of their misconduct, and to release the Emperor the Sahib Khan-i-Sum from prison.' ²

Aurangzeb had a long war with the Afghans. We are now and then hearing of the question of the Afghan Frontiers, and of the raid of this tribe and that tribe of the Afghans. On the way to Afghanistan from India there live a number of clans which are Turco-Iranian clans and are known as Pithan or Baluchi according as the clans belong to the north or to the south of the region. These clans have their own peculiar constitutions the one principal feature of which, is that the chiefs rule over their followers as allowed by them. So the chiefs often change. There is no hereditary line of chiefs which one may expect to rule long. So no treaty arrangement with them can be called a *pucca* arrangement on which one can depend long. That is the present difficulty of our British rulers and that was the difficulty of the Moghal Emperors. Though these emperors had their rule in Kabul itself they had their difficulties with the Afghan tribes living between Afghanistan proper or Kabul and India. Akbar had such difficulties and his famous courtier Raja Birbal was defeated and killed by these Afghan tribes in

¹ Elliot VII p. 139

² Muntakhabul Lubab of Muhammad Hosh in Kitab Akbari, Elliot VII p. 29.

sent a special officer from his court to Peshawar to urge Mahâbat Khan to force his way to Kabul. Mahâbat Khân thereupon did proceed to Kabul, but not by the regular route, fighting with the difficulties he may meet with, at the hands of the Afghan enemies, but by another route, the Karopa Pass, making his passage thereby easy by bribing the Afghans. He thereupon incurred the displeasure of Aurangzeb, who then appointed one Shujayet Khân, a man who had risen from a lower status of life, to the command, against the Afghans. But Shujayet Khan met with a great disaster in the Karopa Pass at the hands of the Afghans in 1674. Thereupon, Aurangzeb himself went to Hassan Abdal, situated on the road from Rawalpindi to Peshawar, and stayed there for nearly 18 months. He removed Mahâbat Khân from the Viceroyalty of Kabul, for having intentionally abstained, out of jealousy, from giving help to Shujayet Khân. The emperor's presence and diplomacy mastered the situation. Some of the hostile Afghan tribes were won over by money and others were defeated and overpowered.

Mahâbat Khân is once referred to by Aurangzeb in one of his letters¹ to Asad Khân, who bore the titles of Umadat ul-Mulk (the best of the kingdom) and Madur-ul-Mahâl (the support of State business), but nothing special is mentioned about him.

I give below a list of the principal events referred to above in connection with Mahâbat Khân's career —

A.D.

- 1636 Treaty of Shâh Jahân with the King of Bijapur.
- 1652 Mahâbat Khân appointed Mir Bakshi.
- 1652 Appointed to the Viceroyalty of Kabul for the first time.
- 1653 Got the title of Mahâbat Khân, his original name being Lohrâsp Khân. His father, who died in 1634, also had the same title.
- 1656 War declared against Bijapur in which Mahâbat Khân takes an important part.
- 1657 Mahâbat Khân leaves Prince Aurangzeb's army at Bijapur and goes to Agra.
- 1657. Shâh Jahân fell ill.

(1) T. T. Tuka at Lucknow Letters of Aurangzeb, 1. Jamshid II. 1. Ilmoraj (1008) p. 14.

- 1657 Mahabat Khan appointed Governor of Deccan
- 1657 Appointed Governor of Kabul for the second time
- 1658 Shah Jahan imprisoned by his son Aurangzeb
- 1658 Aurangzeb declared himself Emperor
- 1658 Dara Shukôh gathers troops at Delhi and marches towards Lahore (end of June, beginning of July)
- 1658 Shah Jahan writing secretly from the prison to Mahabat Khan, who was then the Governor of Kabul imploring him to go with his army to Lahore and help Dara Shukoh
- 1659 Aurangzeb formally installed as Emperor
- 1663 Mahabat Khan appointed Viceroy of Gujarat
- 1666 Death of Shah Jahan
- 1667 The Yusufzai Afghans rose in rebellion under Bhagu They were defeated
- 1670 Mahabat Khan appointed Viceroy of Kabul for the third time
- 1671 Mahabat Khan sent to the Deccan to suppress Shivaji's power
- 1672 The Afridi Afghans rose in rebellion
- 1672-73 Mahabat Khan who was at Deccan was appointed for the fourth time the Governor of Afghanistan and asked to proceed to Kabul He went to the frontiers but hesitated to fight and reached Kabul by another way
- 1673 Mahabat Khan was superseded as a general against the Afghans by Shujayet Khan Shujayet Khan met with a great defeat
- 1674 20th June Aurangzeb himself went against the Afghans and stayed at the frontiers for 18 months till he settled the Afghan question both by diplomacy and force
- 1674 Mahabat Khan died in this year on his way from Kabul to the Royal Court
- 1675 Aurangzeb returns to Delhi at the end of the year

(a) The tablet bears the Hijri date of 1083. The Hijri, year 1083 began on 29th April 1672¹. Now, we learn from the above account of Mahâbat Khân, that it was in this year (1083 Hijri, i.e., 1672-73 A.D.), that he was appointed, for the fourth time, the viceroy of Afghanistan, and was asked to march against the Afghan rebels. The *Rawalpindi Gazetteer*, as quoted above, attributes the tablet to "the time when the Emperor Aurangzeb marched to Hassan Abdal and sent his son prince Sultan with an army against the Khattaks and other trans Indus tribes" and attributes the tablet to that event. But we find from the above account, that the *Gazetteer* seems to be wrong. It was in 1674, that Aurangzeb went to Hassan Abdal and not in 1672. So, this tablet has nothing to do with Aurangzeb. It seems to have been put up by Mahâbat Khân in 1672, when he was in the good grace of Aurangzeb, and when he was on his way to Peshawar to fight with the Afghans and to make his way to Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, of which he was appointed the Governor.

(b) The *Gazetteer* also seems to be incorrect in the mention of the name of the prince who accompanied Aurangzeb when he went to the place to look personally after the affairs of the Afghan war. Aurangzeb had five sons—(1) Muhammad Sultan, who had intrigued against his father in the war of succession and joined the side of Shujā, but was admitted to favour in 1672. (2) Muhammad Muazzam (afterwards Emperor Bahadur Shah I), who was at first a great favourite of his father, but had subsequently fallen into his displeasure in 1673 and was afterwards restored to favour again in 1676. He was appointed, under the title of Shâh Âlam, commander in Afghanistan in that year, fell in disfavour again and was arrested in 1687. (3) Muhammad Azam. (4) Muhammad Akbar who rebelled openly against his father. (5) Muhammad Kam Bakhsh. When Aurangzeb went personally to attend to the Afghan war, it was the fourth, out of these five sons, prince Akbar, who accompanied him. He was asked to march to Kabul via Kobât under the guardianship of Aghar Khân, and Mahâbat Khan was removed from the vice-royalty. When Aghar Khân won victories over the Afghans on behalf of his royal master, it was prince Akbar who was asked to co operate and advance eastwards from Jalâlâbâd². He could

¹ Wollaston's Persian Dictionary p. 1189

² Aurangzeb by Prof. Sarkar, Vol. III, p. 270.

³ *Ibid* 1. 273.

not carry on well his part of the war work. Having settled the affairs of the province of Kabul, he returned to Hasan Abdal.¹ When Afghan affairs improved in the end of 1675, prince Akbar seems to have returned to Delhi with his father. In October 1676, it was prince Muazzan, the second son, that was sent to Afghanistan after being invested with the title of Shah Alam. We thus see, that Prince Sultan, the first son of Aurangzeb, had no hand in the Afghan war and had not accompanied his father to the frontiers. So, the *Gazetteer* is incorrect in mentioning the name of Prince Sultan in place of Prince Akbar.

buildings like the Diwan-i Khas. So a small paved roadway would be nothing before these great works and would not be so highly praised and compared to the high heavens (c) Again, if the tablet was intended to commemorate the event of cutting the hill and making a roadway through it and if, as such, it was the work of the Moghal Government and not of Mahabat Khan personally, the tablet should have mentioned Aurangzeb's name and not simply Mahabat Khan's. This circumstance also should lead us to think that it is not merely the Moghal cutting of paved roadway that it takes a note of.

In the plan which Mr Vesugar, the Assistant Engineer, P.W.D., has kindly prepared for me and which is given above, he describes the road as 'an old stone set road made by Akbar for his elephants to pass'. While studying the subject on my return to Bombay these words struck me and I wrote on 24th September to Mr Vesugar inquiring what was his authority for the statement. He writes on 30th September 1918 in reply. The information given by me to you re the stone at Margalla is just from local traditions and I vouch for its accuracy in no way. I think this tradition as heard by Mr Vesugar may be true. From a passage of the *Wakiat-i Jalangiri* given above we learn that when Jahangir went to Kabul in the second year of his reign (1015 Hijri 1606 A.D.) he passed across this Margalla hill. It seems that there was already a road there and perhaps as said by the tradition heard there now it was built by Akbar. One who would see this road paved with big rough stones would not take long to agree that it was intended for elephants. To save the feet of elephants from slipping while passing on the slopy road on both sides of the pass it seems to have been paved with big stones.

The road may have been built by Akbar's officers at the King's direction as a necessary war work during the time of the rebellion of the Yusufzai Afghans in the suppression of which as said above Birlbal the great favourite courtier of the King was killed. Or it is possible that the roadway may have been built at Akbar's direction for his elephants to pass during his visits of Kashmir by this route. Akbar took Kashmir in A.D. 1586 and visited it three times. According to his *Itin-i Akbari* Kashmir, Kandhar, Zibulistan, Swat and other adjoining places belonged to the Sulth or vicerealty of Kabul. In the divisions made by Akbar of this part of the country, one was named Akbarabad. The hill of Hassan Abulal in the neighbourhood, referred to in our above account of the Afghan war of Aurangzeb

was a favourite place of Akbar. A place there is named 'Wah' from the fact, that Al bar, once admiring its beauty, exclaimed *wah* (وہ), which is a Persian expression of admiration. The place was a resting place for Akbar and other Moghal Emperors when they went to Kashmir. So, it seems that possibly this paved roadway was specially intended for Akbar's and his successors' elephants. It is more likely that it was built not for the temporary purposes of the Afghan war, but for a permanent purpose as a part of the trunk road passing over the Margalla pass.

On various considerations and after examining the place, I think, that the tablet belongs to some other building or edifice in that locality built by Mahabat Khan in 1672 A.D. and that the building having fallen down somebody later on—it may be one or two hundred years ago—may have brought it here and fixed it on the rock. We find some instances of this kind, wherein a tablet belonging to one place, has been, on that place falling into ruins removed and fixed in another place. (a) In my paper on the Moghal Emperors at Kashmir before this Society,¹ I have referred to a tablet of Shah Jahan removed from an adjoining canal and fixed in the side of an octagon tank, the sidework of which was done at the orders of the King. (b) I found another instance of this kind during my third visit of Kashmir, this summer when I was studying and examining some of the inscriptions of Kashmir referred to by Rev J. Loewenthal in his paper entitled 'Some Persian Inscriptions found in Srinagar, Kashmir.' Rev Loewenthal, speaking of the inscriptions in the ruins of buildings known as the tomb of Zain ul Abadin, gives an inscription over what he calls 'a postern gate.' When I went to examine the inscription on 24th June 1918 I could neither find the postern gate nor the inscription given by him. After some inquiry to my great surprise not unmixed with sorrow, I found that the stones bearing the inscription, which Rev Loewenthal saw in 1864 at their proper place were used with some other loose stones to form the compound wall of the back part of the yard containing Zain ul Abadin's tomb. The inscription sides of the stones face the public road of the adjoining bazar, and I think, it will not be long before the street boys deface the inscription, or somebody carries away the stones.

¹ *Field Journal* Vol. XXV No 2 pt. 26 p. 146 above p. 46.

² *Journal Bengal Asiatic Society* Vol. XXXIII No 3 (1911) pp. 278-280.

APPENDIX

THE TAHSILDAR'S READING, TRANSLITERATION AND
TRANSLATION

- بهادر
 1 خان قوی چشم مہانت شکوہ
 2 شور و سر پہنڈ او دادوان
 3 در کمال ہمار کلمہ آئے بود
 4 داکوہ چرخ ہری تواناں
 5 ساخت خان را روی شرف
 6 بوسہ دہد چرخ دور و مہر رحمان
 7 بگد رشت مدد دوامی ہاریم سال
 8 ناصر نورش ہندوستان

- 9 با اہتمام میرزا محمد میرزا داروغہ داس تان
 10 احمد مہار و چرکیدار شرف
 11 و دیال داس تھوہا ہار در ۱۰۸۰
 12 مرتب شد

(Transliteration)

Har-ul Qadir

1. Khan Kavi Chashim Mahabat Shakohi
 2. Sher zi sar panja 100 natiwan
 3. Dar kastal¹ Markalla an ki bud
 4. Bâ kurra 1 charakh baram tawanan
 5. Sakht khan ra zi ru 1 sharaf
 6. Bosâ dihad charakh baroo Mehar 1 zamân
 7. Biguzasht Mil dawann tarikh sal
 8. Nama 1¹ urash 1 Hindustan
-
9. Ba ihtamam Mirza Mohammad Miran Darogha Das tan*
 10. Ahmed mumar chauhidar-h* w ald Sharaf
 11. Wa Diadass tajuba* sar dir 1080
 12. Muratab shud

1 These words are very doubtful

(Translation)

He who is omnipotent

- 1 The I han with bold eyes and commanding appearance
- 2 Against whom even the lion is quite powerless
- 3 Who was in the pass of Margalla
- 4 By the help of the high heavens Powerful
- 5 Made the I han through its greatness
- 6 The heavens kiss the face of this the sun of the times
- 7 Left a permanent inscription of the date and the year
- 8 Of the invasion of India

-
- 9 Under the supervision of Mirza Mohammad Miran
superintendent of passes
 - 10 Ahmad Mason and chaulidar son of Sharaf
 - 11 And Daldas, sculptor in 1080 (Hijri)
 - 12 Was made

THE TEXT TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION,
SUPPLIED BY THE ARCHEOLOGICAL
DEPARTMENT

و اعا - ر

- 1 حان دوی چشم بهاب شکرة
- 2 شرر مرصعة او نادوان
- 3 در کسل مارگله اند رود
- 4 داکرة چرخ و در توانان
- 5 صاحب حان زار دوی شری
- 6 برمه دهد چرخ مرو مهر مان
- 7 بر مکتب ملک دواعی دار چ سال
- 8 نامک ورش بدوستان
- 9 ناهمام مرورا محمد عمران - شروع دالان
- 10 احمد معمار چوکدارش ولد شری
- 11 و دالداس مجونا مار در سنه ۱۰۸۰
- 12 برت شد

HO WAL QADIR

كَلَامُ الْقَادِرِ الْمَاهِبَاتِ الشَّاهِدِ

Sher ze sar i panjæ o nitawan

Dar kãsal i Margalla an ke bud

Bar kurrah i charkã i barin taw man

Shãht kã an ra ze rhe sharf

Bosa dihad charkã i bar wo nahre zaman

Bar mal manat mal i daw un Tarikh sãl

Namã i vuri h i Hindostan

Ba chitman Mirza Muhammad Miran, Diroghã i
dustan

Ahmad manir chowli darsh wald Sharf

Wa Dayal Das tyabi z dar san 1080

Murattab shud

ALMIGHTY

The awe inspiring redoubtable Khan

By whose invincible strength the lion is reduced to
helplessness

Who in the fortress of Margalla

could cope with the untrained horse of the lion

God created this Khan at whose face the sly and the
sneak of the

world imprint their kisses on account of his exaltedness

In perpetuation of the date of the erection of this edifice,
of which eternity is enamoured the following words have
been written

'A writing on the conquest of India

Under the management of Mirza Muhammad Miran the
supervisor of stories

Ahmed architect his and de camp son of Sharf

And Dayal Das sculptor

Prepared in the year 1080

POSTSCRIPT

After reading the paper on 17th October 1918 I received a letter dated 18th November 1918 (Sarai kala District Rawalpindi) from Sir John Marshall the Director General of Archaeology in India in reply to mine of the 28th September sending there with a rubbing of the inscription. Then in continuation of that letter I received another letter dated 14th January 1919 (Camp Sanchi Bhilsa Central India) from Dr D B Spooner the Assistant Director General sending therewith the reading and translation of the inscription by Mr Ghulam Yazdani. I beg to thank all the gentlemen. I give here a copy of the rubbing as well as Mr Yazdani's reading and translation.

Mr Yazdani's reading differs a good deal from the previous reading supplied to me by the Commissioner of Rawalpindi and the Archaeological Department and agrees much with my reading especially in the first important part. But his reading of the fifth line differs from mine. It is the second word that makes all the difference. What the Tahsildar the reader of the copy supplied by the Archaeological Department and I with Munshi Mahmud Din read from the tablet itself as *Khan ra* (خان را) Mr Ghulam Yazdani reads from the rubbing as

Chunan rahi (چنان راہی) He puts(?) a mark of question in his reading after these words. So he himself is doubtful. He reads the fifth line as *ساحب خان راہی (?) روی* and translates it very freely as 'Cut a pass rising so high'. There is no word for cut in the text. The word is *sakht* (ساکھت) i.e. made. But the fact of the tablet being found on a road which is a cutting seems to have suggested to him the sense of cutting. However if this reading is accepted my above view of the tablet that it belonged to some other work and was latterly placed here would turn out to be wrong and we must take it that it belongs to the road itself and that it takes a note of its construction. But as the Tahsildar the reader of the Archaeological Department's first copy myself and the Munshi who accompanied me have all read the word on the spot itself, as '*Khan*' and as Mr Yazdani himself seems to be doubtful about his reading I leave the matter as it is in the hands of other readers.

BYRONI E HOUSE

Mailgram 27th February 1919

شاهان قوی

و ما را در این

کتاب

مجموعه

کتابخانه

مجموعه

کتابخانه

مجموعه

کتابخانه

مجموعه

*A Farmân of Emperor Jehangir in favour
of two Parsees of the Dordi family of
Naosari, with other cognate Docu-
ments of the Mogul times.*

Read 22nd March 1920

I

I had the pleasure of placing for inspection before this Society two Persian *farmâns* of Emperor Akbar, when I read before it, on 16th December 1901, my paper on "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana"¹ I beg to submit to-day for inspection another *farmân*, given by Akbar's son Jehangir in 1618 to two Parsis, Mullâ Jâmâsp and Mullâ Hoshang of Naosâr. One of these two, Mullâ Jâmâsp was an ancestor—ninth in ascent—of the late Mr Dadabhai Nowroji. Like the two *farmâns* of Akbar, this *farmân* also illustrates some of the *dyans* or institutes of the Mogul times on the subject of *jâgirs*, land revenue &c, described by Abul Fazl, the Sir William Hunter of Akbar's Court, in his *Âin-i Akbari*, the Imperial Gazetteer of the times. My first paper seems to have drawn the attention of some scholars in Europe, among whom I was glad to find persons like the late Mr Vincent Smith,² Mr Beveridge,³ Mr Irvine, all of the distinguished Civil Service of India and M Bonet Maury of France.⁴ It were the seals of Akbar given in the photo litho fac simile in the appendix of the paper, that drew the special attention of the late Mr Irvine in 1909. He wrote to me asking for good photographs of such

¹ Journal B. B. A. Vol. XXI, 69-72.

² In his "Akbar the Great Mogul" Mr V Smith speaks of my paper as "the excellent and convincing treatise" and of the *farmâns* and other documents published therein as "previously unpublished documents in both text and translation" (p. 176 n). In his bibliography, he names the paper as one "deserving separate mention as being a fully documented discussion of the relations of Akbar with the Parsees" (p. 48).

³ In his article on Akbar in the Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics (Vol. I p. 273), Mr Beveridge refers his readers to my above article in our Journal for consultation.

⁴ In his paper, entitled "Le Leligion d Akbar dans ses rapports avec l Islamisme et le Parsisme," read before the International Congress of the History of Religions at Basle in 1901, Mon Bonet Maury thus refers to this paper: "Mon M.odi a démontré à la de de *Armas* de la chancellerie d Akbar de chants populaires et d une note d Inquell du l'erron que ce furent des Parsees de l'Inde et non pas ceux restés en Perse qui furent en rapport avec le grand Mogul (Verhandlungen des II Internationalen Kongress für Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte zu Basle 20 August bis 2 Sept 1901, p. 74).

seals on other documents of the Mogul Emperors. I am glad that I attended to Mr Irvine's request. Not only did I send him large photographs of the seals of Akbar's two *farmans*, but I also sent him with my letter of 18th February 1910, a photo of the seal of Jehangir's *farmân* which forms the subject of my present paper. At my request, the owner of the *farmân*, the late Mr. Byramji Khurshedji Dordi of Naosari, got the whole *farmân* photographed and then photo-lithoed. I am glad that I got that done, because, had the photo not been taken at the time, much of the help in now deciphering the *farmân* would have been lost. I present for inspection the photo-litho, as taken about 10 years ago for Mr Irvine, and the photo as taken recently about a year ago, at the instance of Dr Jehangir Byramji Dordi, F.R.C.S., the youngest son of the late owner of the *farmân*. I am very sorry to find, that a very sad mistake has been committed, in getting the *farmân* patched up and stuck on the two sides of a glass plate as you see it before you. Good many words have been lost in the work of patching which has been done carelessly.

My above paper has been referred to in a judgment in a case of some importance to the Parsee community, wherein I had to give evidence. One of the presiding judges, the Hon'ble Mr (now Sir) Justice Beaman, therein animadverted a good deal on the paper. When the appreciation of the above learned scholars, who had read my paper carefully and leisurely, has given me some pleasure, I beg to admit, that the criticism of the Hon'ble Judge, the result of his hasty and careless reading, has given me some pain. A literary man has no right to complain against any fair criticism of his views, but he has every right to complain against the language in which that criticism is couched, and more especially when the position of the critic at the time of his criticism places the victim of his criticism in a position whence he cannot reply. As the paper in question was read from the platform of this learned Society, I humbly beg to take this opportunity, when I read a paper on another *farmân*, similar to that referred to in the previous paper, to protest against the language of that criticism, wherein motives were sought to be attributed when none existed. Had the criticism been made out of the Court, I knew how best to reply to it. But, I had to be silent. Even now, I do not want to enter into any details of the criticism, I think, that if the learned judge would read the whole of my paper carefully without any prejudice, and especially what led me to write it, I think, he would revise his criticism or at least its language.

ہوالتادر

خان قوی پنجر مہابت شکوہ
 شہروز سرینچہ او ناتوان
 در کفل مارگلہ آئکہ بود
 باکرہ چرخ دین ذوالمان
 ساخت چنان راہ (۶) بروی شرف
 موسم دہ چرخ بود ہر زمان
 گشت مدد از پلای تاریخ سال
 داصیہ ہوش ہندوستان *

باہتمام مولانا محمد..... دارو ونا (۶)
 احمد معمار و جوگیداس..... شرف
 ودیالاس تھیادار در سنہ ۱۰۸۳
 مرتب شد

TRANSLATION.

He is Omnipotent !

The Khân of powerful grip, Mahabat¹ Shikoh (awe-inspiring),

In whose hand the tiger is feeble ;

In the hill of Margala which was

A rival (in loftiness) to the sphere of Heaven,

Cut a pass rising so high

That Heaven kisses it every moment

Mughal² thus composed a chronogram (for the Pass) :—

“The parting in the hair of the moon-faced (mistress of India ”

Completed under the Superintendence of Maulana Muhammad..... and Wafa..... Ahmad, the mason, Jogidas, the accountant, and Dyaldas, the cash-keeper, in the year 1083 A. H. (1672 A. D.)

¹ Mahabat Khân, Governor of Kabul 1651-56, 1658-62, 1668-70 and 1672-73 A. D. For a full account see *Mu'athir-ul-Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 590-95.

² Here Moghal is the name of the poet. He may be identified with Mughal Khân, an officer attached to the Court of Aurangzeb who held different posts

Mu'athir-ul-Umara, Vol. III, pp. 623-25

The point of dispute then was not at all of conversion, but was, as to who influenced Akbar in his new eclectic religion. The point of dispute was not, as the judge erroneously thought,—and this serves as an instance of his very hasty superficial reading—whether the Naosari Parsees influenced Akbar or the Bombay Parsees, but whether the Naosari Parsees influenced him or the Parsees of Persia. Bombay had not then even passed into the hands of the British and its Parsee population then, if any, may not have been even a dozen. Then, the next question of dispute was this :—Among the Christians, who are said to have influenced Akbar in his Ilahi or Divine Faith, there were fathers like Rodolph Aquaviva, Antony Monserrat, and Francis Herrie. Among the Jains who influenced him were gurus like Hirvijaya Suri, Vijyasena Suri and Bhamuchandra Upādhayā. Among the Hindus, there was a large number who often attended his Court. Now, as to the Parsees, the point of dispute was, whether it was Dastur Meherji Rana of Naosari or Dastur Ardeshir of Persia. I said, it was Meherji Rana, and out of about 177 pages of my paper, about 85, i.e., nearly half, have been devoted to the presentation of two *far-māns* and other documents. Again, as I have hinted in the paper, I had undertaken the study of the paper at the instance of a friend in France. In spite of all these facts, the judge said : "Mr. Modi writes an elaborate treatise, or one might say almost a book, to prove that the priests of Naosari are fairly entitled to the credit of having converted the emperor Akbar." Now, there is not a single sentence in the whole of my paper, wherein I have stated, that I believed that Akbar was converted to Zoroastrianism. On the other hand, what I clearly stated was, that, as he put on the visible symbols of the religions of the Christians and Hindus, either out of temporary real affection for those religions, or only out of dissimulation, or for the sake of curiosity, he may have put on, even for a short time, the visible signs of Parseecism. If any sure and certain proof of what I say is wanted, it is supplied by the report of the experts' committee referred to in the case and which was framed by me after the paper was read. There, Akbar's case has not at all been mentioned as a case of conversion. Had I taken it to be a case of conversion, I would have mentioned it in my report. I beg to repeat, that I do not like to protest so much against the criticism as against its—I may be pardoned to say—undignified and improper language, imputing motives to my paper, written long before the case, when I had no idea, that any particular communal question of the kind would crop up.

Now, coming to the subject of the paper, I propose to deal besides the *farmān* itself, which forms the principal part of my subject, with the following documents which relate to the land, whole or in part, given to the two Parsis by Emperor Jehangir.

1. A *chak-nāmeḥ*, referring to the whole of the land. The original of this was sent to me by Mr Behramji Khurshedji Dordi with his letter, dated 3rd November 1909, when he sent to me the *farmān* itself and a Gujarati translation of the *farmān* by Prof. S. H. Hodiwala of Junaghad. There is also a subsequent copy of the *chak-nāmeḥ* written on two leaves of thin paper.

2. A *chak-nāmeḥ*, in the name of Mehernoush, the third in descent from Mullā Jamasp, to whose share there came, in subsequent partition, about 18 *bigahs* of land. There are two subsequent copies of this *chak-nāmeḥ*, one with the seal of Jamāl-ud-dīn Usmānī, and another, a copy of the first copy with the seal of Kazi Fazal-ud-dīn.

3. A *parudneh* referring to the above 18 *highās* of land falling to the share of Mehernoush. There is also a certified copy of this *parwaneḥ* bearing the seal of the above Fazal-ud-dīn. There is also another certified copy.

4. An Appeal of Mehernoush to the leading men of Naosari to certify that the above 18 *bigahs* of land had come to his hands after a proper Deed of Partition among the heirs of Mullā Jamasp.

5. A Receipt by Mehernoush acknowledging the receipt of a sum of money for a three years' lease of his land.

I will first give the text and translation of the *farmān*.

II

THE TEXT OF THE FARMĀN

اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ

اولوالمظفر نورالدين محمد جهانگیر بادشاہ عازی
نورمان (۱) عالیشان مرحمت عنوان شرف اصدار وعزایراد



¹ I beg to acknowledge with thanks the help received in the decipherment of several words here and there of the text of the *Farman* from a copy of the *farmān* by Munshi Nasir Allkhan of Naosari supplied to me by Dr Jehangir Byramji Dordi, and in the decipherment of the *farmān* and other documents by the Gujarati translations which accompanied all the documents except the last.

² The numbers on the right give the number of the lines in the original *farmān*.

³ The first two and the last two letters of this word do not appear clearly in the photo-litho copy, but can be read in the photo itself. The same is the case with the last letter of the next word.

2 (2) موای بکصد مدد رومی بگر آئی موای صانطه ار قصه
دوساری سرکار سورت

3 من ابتدا ربع قوی ایل در وجه مدد معاش مثلاً حاماسپ و مثلاً
روشنگ فارسی نا فرزدان حسب الصبی معای و مسام باشد که حاصلات
آبرا فصل بفصل سال سال

4 در وجه معیشت خود (3) حسن و صری نموده نه دعاگوئی دوام
دولت ادد قوس آشفعال منموده باشد می باید که حکام کرام و
عمال کفایت فرجام

5 و خاکدوداران و کروریان حال و استعمال در استعمار و استقرار
ان حتم اقدس اعلی کوشیده اراضی مذکور را بنموده و چک بسه
بصرف آنها بارگذاشته

6 اصلاً و مطلاً و معرو و مدیک (3) ندیم و بدلت (4) مال و حباب
و احراجات و عوارضات مثل بنام و پیشکش و حرمانه و مصلانیه و
صانطانه و مهرانه و دارو و کانام

1 The e first two lines are as will be seen from the photo litho and the photo shore and are written in the left-hand half of the width of the paper of the *farmān*. That was a characteristic of the Mogul *farmān* of which the Ain-i Akbari says that the first two lines are shortened (Blochmann's Text p 195 (دو سطر نخستین کوتاه نگردانند)

2 The reading of this word is doubtful. It may be arabic حسن/hasnā the sense of pleasingness. In that case, with the next word it may mean "I am very pleased" or it may be arabic حذق/ḥuṣṣ or sagacity meaning "he may bring the income under his power and expense. In that case the nukteh is wrong or it may have been miswritten for کhar/خارج. The corresponding sentence in the Akbar Meharji Bana farmān is حاصل آبرا صرف ارباب گذار خود نموده

3 Not legible. Dr. Jehangir B. Dordji has given me a copy of the *farmān* recently made by Mir Asaf Ali Khan of Basmari wherein the Munshi reads the words as
را ندان را

4 The names of the various taxes and imports mentioned here are well-nigh the same as tho " in the two *farmān* of King Akbar the difference being only in their consecutive order. So we are helped a good deal by those *farmān* in the reading of this *farmān*. Vide my Translation of Akbar's *farmān* with footnotes (J. D. B. R. A. 8. XVI pp. 163-200). For an explanation of the names of some of these taxes mentioned in the *farmān* of the Mogul Emperors vide the instructive article entitled "Taxation and Finance under the Mughals" by Mr. Gulshan Rai, in the Indian Review of September 1919.

7 و نیگار و شکار و مرد لشکر (1) و ده دمی و مقدمی و روسوی و
مصدقوی قانونگوی و (2) .. مستخدم و رکوة الصنی و منظم برساله
ار تشدص چگ و تکرار رراعت

8 وکل تکالیف دیوانی و مطالبات سلطانی مزاحمت برساندد و مطالبتی
نگیند و ار جمع رسومات و اطلاعات و حوالات معاف و مسام و مرفوع
العام شمرد

9 و درسی باب برساله فرمان (3) عالی شان (4) متعدد طلب ندارد
و ار فرموده در نگردند و در عهد یک باشند تهربرآ فی تاریخ ۱۱ ماه
شهرور آلهی شد ۱۳ هجری

1 In the photo litt o fac-simile the word looks like لشکوة but in the original the word is read clearly as لشکر A part of the letter ر is seen in the fac-simile The conjunction و looks faultily joined with the broken رک but the original makes it clear

* I cannot make out clearly the words between the two words kânungdî (قانونگوی) and zakât al jahatî (رکوة الصنی) In Akbar a two farmans, the words between the two words are تکرار و رراعت و ترکاری which in my translation of the two farmans (J B R A S XXI p 160) I have translated as burdens (i.e. taxes) for cultivation and gardening I am inclined to take that the word just preceding رکوة الصنی in this farman is مستخدم muhtasifa which according to Stelungass is 'A tax on professions' The word occurs in the Ain i Akbari (Bk III ain 7 Blochmann a Text Vol I p 794 l 15) as the name of a tax; J.rett has in his translation (Vol II p 58) taken it as an impost on manufactures Gladwin (Ayeen Akbery (1800) Vol I p 251) also takes it as a tax upon manufactures

As to the two words which name a tax or taxes preceding the word which I read as muhtasifa though the letters are clear I do not understand the words clearly They seem to be ملهم در حرة If the reading may be so accepted, the first word may be mizhab i.e. extremely fair and the word after dar may be hurra a free woman Perhaps one may say that it may be a tax upon those women but it does not seem to be so

* and * The last letters عالی شان can be seen but the previous part عالی is gone But this word and the next word مستخدم (renamed) can safely be replaced and read with the help of Akbar a two farmans

(The text of the Writing on the back of the farman)

امداد معاش باسم ملا حامد و عیو مع فرزندای موافق یادداشت
 اقبع بقاریج روز قدر ۱۳ ماه آذر سنه ۱۳ موافق کم سنه مطابق
 ذاریج ۱۶ دی الحضر . . . سنه . . . ۲

1 The cursive word in the form of a long line above the word extending over nearly three-fourths of the line gives the word *madad*

2 Some words here, at the end of the line are not clearly legible. All the figures of the year written next to or to speak more properly, a little above the word *sana* سنه, are not clear but the last figure is clear as 7 (seven). The figure next to it on the left seems to be 2 (two). Thus if we take these last two to be 27 we may unhesitatingly take the next two on the left i.e. the first two to be 10. Then the number of the year should be 1027 (1-27) because we know it for certain that we are dealing with a *farman* of King Jehangir, who came to throne on Thursday Jumada-s-Sani 20th A H 1014 (October 24th 1605) (*Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri*, translated and edited by Rogers Beveridge p 1). Now in this very line the year of the King's reign is given as 13 13 the thirteenth. So, this tallies with the year 1027 (H 1014+13=1027). The week day and the Christian date corresponding to this day are Tuesday 24th November 1615 old style.

The next word seems to be *dar* در i.e. in. The next word must be a word signifying some office. As the next line speaks of an officer holding the *resalah* رساله this word very probably is *chowki* چوکی. Thus writing on the back of the *farman* is what is called, *sharh-i-lash* شرح تعالیم or an abridgement of the *add-dash* (a memorandum) of His Majesty's orders about the *farmans* etc. or *sharh-i-lash* شرح بالکاشم post script explanation. I have explained this in details on the authority of the 10th and 11th sins of the 2nd book of the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Wickham's Translation I pp 258-59) in my paper on Akbar's *Farmans* given to Dastur Meherji Rana (J B B R A S XXI pp 170-71). Now in these *sharhs* of Akbar's two *farmans* we find in the beginning the notes or the memoranda of the officers holding at the time the *resalah* and the *chouki*. So as in the present *farman* we find the word *resalah* (رساله) in the second line with the name of its holder here the word must be *chowki* چوکی with the name of its holder which occurs in the beginning of the second line.

As to the third or the last illegible word in the first line. It seems, that it may be a word having some signification like that of the second word in the second line *nigbat* نجات signifying some dignity. We are led to think so because the second line begins with the conjunction *va* و i.e. and. In the second line in connection with the *resalah* holder we have the words *senat* و رعایت پناه. So we have the words *senat* رعایت پناه with the holder of what I think to be the *chowki*. I think also that the last illegible word of the first line may perhaps be *senat* سنات. Thus, the indistinct or illegible words would be *senat* در چوکی ۱۰۲۷. There seem to be one or two more words but they do not seem to be very important.

(2) و نقابت پناه 1 اقبال آثاری مصطفی خان نوساله میاد و
نقابت پناه صدورت و نقابت دستگاه سید احمد قادری معرفت
لایق العنایت والا خان نورالدین قلی و نوبت واقع.

(3) نوبت پناه درگاه مسعود باقر اکرم ملا جا صاحب و ملا روشنگ
فارسی 2 بقاریخ ۲ ماه شهریور سنه ۱۳ بنظر اشرف
اقدس اعلی گذشتند و چهار نانو

(4) رونق فایل پشکش کردند مباح یکصد روپیه بمقتور مرحمت
فرموده و حکم جهان مطاع آفتاب شعاع صادر شده که مواری یکصد بنگه
زمین بگز آکهی موافق

1 Iqbal asari, a, one having the impressions or signs of good fortune

2 There seem to be three words between the words فارسی and بقاریخ which seem to be illegible. I venture to suggest, that they may be Shehr i Shah Mandal شهر شاه مندال and they refer to the town of Naosari. They were meant to signify, that the two Parsees were from Naosari. Naosari had several names of old (vide Mr Sorabji Mancherji Dasa's Tavankh i Navsari (توانکھ ناصاری) &c., the History of Navsari pp 48). Two of these were Naghsht and Nag Mandal, ناکش ناک مندال. Perhaps, it may be said, that more than once the town is mentioned in the *farman* as Naosari. So where was there the necessity of giving here another name? But it is possible, that the Court officers, when taking down the notes of the King's gift in their records, asked the donees the name of their town or place of residence. They possibly gave the name or names which they familiarly used among themselves. Many an old document speaks of the town as Nag Mandal. I do not mistake, in some old papers the word Nag Mandal is used in addition to the name Naosari, in order to mention a particular locality of Naosari. There is a particular place at Naosari on the Railway Station side, which is still spoken of as Shahan Kuvu شہان کھو, a, the "Shahan well or the royal or great well." So it is possible that the officer entering the gift entered the name of the town as given to him by the donee. One may try to read the last two words as Shah Mandul but the last word does not clearly admit of that reading. The word Mandal (مندل) is occasionally used in Persian books for a limited circle or space of ground.

There is another conjecture which I venture to make and that is to say, that perhaps the words may be 'az Shah Mandat' (از شاه مندال) or padishah mandal (پادشاه مندال). Both the sets of words come to or mean the same thing.

Firstly, as to the word *shah* we know that among the Mahomedans, many of the priestly classes, especially of the fakir type, assume the title of *shah*. In Kashmir, I have heard many a *pir* (saint) spoken of as *shah* e p. Shah Hamdan Shah Makdum, etc. In this connection one must remember, that up to very late Parsee priests were, at times, addressed by their laymen as *padishah*. The several Fire-temples are even now spoken of as *padishahs* (پادشاهان). The word seems to have been transferred also to the priest who served in the temples. It seems, that perhaps from very ancient times some Zoroastrian high priests came to be spoken of as *padishahs* from the fact of their being petty rulers as well as priests.

Coming to the word Mandat مندال, it seems to be used in Persian as a circle or group. So "Shah Mandal" or "Padishah Mandal" may mean a circle or group of priests. Thus, the *farman* by adding these words after the word *Par-i* (Parsee) next to the proper names, seems to have meant that they belonged to 'the group of Parsee priests' residing at Naosari. We know that the word 'mandal' which comes from 'mandat' has been used in one of the *Shah* grants in connection with the Parsees. Their colony at Sazjan has been spoken of as 'Abroshan Mandal'.

(5) صابطه از قصه نوامری سوار صورت دروچه مدد معاش مشار
الها مع فوردان نورار شده¹

(6) بوساله کمقرس شده از دوگاه سند احمد قادری بمعرفت نورالدین
قلی داخل واقع سارند شرح دیگر بخط حملت المالکی مدارال مهامی آنگه
داخل واقع سارند شرح حاشیه بخط واقع دوش

(7) موافق واقع است شرح بخط حملت المالکی مدارال مهامی عوی
گذرانند شرح دیگر بخط لطیف سند صبر محمد روز رش 2 18 ماه
سند احمد الهی 13 عطاقت . . . 3 ربیع الاول 1028 . . .
4 مکر 6

1 All the words after *bar gerge shudā* up to the end of the line are illegible. The last word seems to be آنگه *angeh* i.e. at that time. The following facts lead us to think what these other illegible words may be. In the beginning of it is writing on the back of the *farmān* we find the names of officers in whose records the fact of the gift of the land is noted. They are 1 *Sho tafa Khan* (the holder of the *chakti*) 2 *Majid Ahmad Khatri* the holder of the *resalah* 3 *Noruddin Quli* through whose *ma rasaf* (the document passed) and 4 *Mahmud Khan* the *wasal-nawab*. Now in the succeeding line we find, in a consecutive order the names of the above-named person and third officers. It seems probable that here in the indistinct and illegible portion is the reference to the first person and his record or *valisht*. If we follow somewhat the phraseology of the two *farmāns* of King Akbar in this part of *Jehangir's farmān* the indistinct words may be something like *موافق بادداشت شرح* according to the *valisht* of the marginal explanation. Then, there may be the name of the particular officer of the time.

2 The figure is 18. The second figure for 8 may to some look like 7 (7) but it is 8 *Rashn* (۲۱-۸) is the 16th day and not the 17th of the *Farsee* month.

* Here the illegible words are the day of the week and the date. The figure of the *Mahomedan* date is not clear. But we can determine it by means of the *Ilahi* date. I am thankful to Mr. Muncherji Pestonji Kharegat I.C.S. (Retd.) for helping me in determining this date. He writes to me "There are two methods of calculating *Ilahi* dates (a) the first which I will call Dr. Taylor's, in which the months are reckoned exactly as to the *Farsee* calendar of 30 days each with 5 intercalary days (Gathas) at the end (b) the second in which the months accord exactly with the times which the sun takes in passing through each sign of the Zodiac and in which, therefore the months vary in length from 29 to 30 days and there are no intercalary days at the end, and which I call the true solar method."

Now in the first part of the *shāh* as given above we see that both the *Ilahi* date and the corresponding *Mahomedan* date are given. There we read

تاریخ روز نهم 13 ماه آذر سنه 1028 موافق کم سنه مطابق تاریخ 16
دیال حکم 1028

i.e., the date of day 16 13 month *Adar* (Adar), year 13 (*Ilahi*) correspond up to Wednesday corresponding to date 16 of *Zi ul Hajja* 1028. According to the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangir*, *Jehangir* named Wednesday *kam shambh* i.e. the inauspicious day 16 below. These *Ilahi* and *Ilahi* dates correspond according to the second of the above two methods viz. the true Solar method. So it is certain that the corresponding dates for other *Ilahi* dates in this *farmān* must be reckoned according to the second method. Thus the *Ilahi* date *roz Ra* has 18 *magh* *Astāndarmas* (*Asfandarmad*) *Ilahi* year 13 corresponds to Friday 21 *Rabi ul awwal* 1028. Therefore the illegible words seem to be *موافق بادداشت شرح*

* The last but one word of the line is not legible.

1 The last word of the line is *mutakarrar* i.e. repeated again, a second time.

- (8) نصی حکام 2 بارچا فلک 3 اشتباہ رسید و بموجب حکم
 قضا 4 جویان صادر شد شرح دیگر نصحت حیات الماکی مدارالماہمی
 از ربع قوی ایل فرمان قلمی نماد فقط .
 (9) ما بیگہ رمیں گز آلہی .

III.

(TRANSLATION OF THE FARMÂN.)

GOD IS GREAT.

The *farmân*⁶ of victorious Nûr-ud-dîn⁶ Muhammad Jehangir Badshâh Gazi.⁷ At this time, a Royal Order marked with the favour⁸ (of His Majesty), has acquired the honour of publication and the glory of being issued, that land, about one hundred *bigahs*⁹ (as measured) by the royal *gaz*,¹⁰ according to the general practice, in the *qasaba*¹¹ of Naosari in the *sarkâr*¹² of Surat, may, from the commencement of the spring¹³ *ku el*¹⁴,

¹ *Nass* elevating, raising

² *Hijab*, a veil, a curtain

³ *Falak* *ishtibâh* resembling Heaven

⁴ جویان *Jirayan* 'What issues forth (as an order)' (Steingass)

⁵ Order, Imperial mandate The word is originally *Fahlar* *farmân* فرمان. It comes from Avesta *fra ma* (فرما) Sans म. म। to arrange, to place in order) to order, from *fra* (فر) Lat pro Germ vor English forth) and *ma* (मा) Lat *me* *tiri*, Germ *maessen* Tr *me* *surer*) to measure

⁶ Lit. Light of Religion

⁷ Brave Gallant

⁸ *Sharaf* Distinguished with or honoured by favour

⁹ Modern *Vinghâ* *q[ā]* "A measure of a third of an acre" (Steingass) According to the *Alm i Akbari*, in the Mogul times, it was more than half an acre (Vide my Paper in J B B R A XXI p 164 n 2)

¹⁰ Of the three kinds of *gaz* known in the Mogul times, that known as the long *gaz* (*گزنوری*) was used for the measurement of cultivated lands (Ibid p 164 n. 3. *Alm i Akbari* Bk. III n. 8 Blochmann's Text Vol I, p 294, 1.25 Jarrett's Translation Vol II p 59)

¹¹ Town

¹² "A district comprising several *pergunnahs*"

¹³ The two words *Rabi* and *Kharif* (spring and autumn) of the Mogul times have come down to our times and are still used by the British Revenue department

¹⁴ These are Turkish words As to *ku el*, the *Alm i Akbari* (Bk. III n. 1), speaking of the Turkish era, says, that they counted years by cycles, each cycle having 12 years In the names of the 12 years of the cycle which Abu Fazl gives, we find *ku el* the sheep (*گوسفند*) as the 8th year (Blochmann's Text, p 273, l 13 Jarrett's Translation, Vol II, p 21) As to the word *el*, Abul Fazl says that "they add the word *el* to each of these words which signifies year" (Jarrett's Translation, Vol II, p 21) *در انعام* *بریک* *لعل* *ایل* که بمعنی سال است در افزابند. (Blochmann's Text, p 273, ll. 16-17)

According to Albiruni, *ku* or *ku el* seems to be also the name of the 8th month of a Turkish year (Albiruni's Chronology of Ancient times, by Dr G. Edward Sachau (1879), p 83 last column)

be (set apart) free and exempted from taxes, according to the contents¹ (of this farmân), for the purpose of the aid of the livelihood (madad i maâsh)² of Mullâ Jamâsp and Mullâ Hoshang, Parsees, and (their) children, so that, by spending and using the income of that (land) from season to season and year to year for the expenses of their livelihood, they may for all time, be engaged in saying prayers for the continuous³ good fortune (of His Majesty)

It is incumbent on all the present and future noble governors⁴ and happy⁵ agents⁶ and jagirdârs and Karorîâns,⁷ that trying to observe the continuance⁸ and confirmation⁹ of this most holy and exalted Order (of His Majesty), (and) measuring the said lands, and settling¹⁰ the *chak*,¹¹ and transferring¹² it

¹ Hasb ul Zimm according to the contents of Cf *موجب دفع صل* in Meherji Rana's first *farmân*. Vide my paper on that subject p 93 l 3

² According to the *Ain i Akbari* (Ek II Ain 19 on *asayarghals* (مسورغال) "subsistence allowances" paid in cash, are called *Wazifah* (وظیفہ) lands conferred are called *Milk* (ملک) or *madad i maâsh* (مدد معاش) Blochmann's Text p 108 l. Transla

tion Vol. I, p 763) Blochmann, under the head of "Note by the Translator on the Cadres of Akbar's reign, thus speaks on the subject of the *Madad i maâsh*. In this *Ain*—one of the most interesting in the whole work—the Chagatai Sayarghal is translated by the Arabic *madad ul maâsh*. The latter term signifies maintenance of livelihood, and like its equivalent *milk* or property it denotes lands given for benevolent purposes, as specified by Abul Fâzil. Such lands were hereditary and did not pass on from father to son's lands, which were conferred for a specified time, on *Madadgirs* in lieu of salaries" (Blochmann's Translation p 270)

³ Lit joined (quarun) to eternity (*abad*)

⁴ *Hakim*, pl of *Hakim*. According to Blochmann, the higher Mansabdars were mostly governors of *Cabâhs* (provinces). The governors were at first called *panchdars*, towards the end of Akbar's reign we find them called *Hakim* and afterwards *Cabâh* *Cabâh* or *Cabâhdars* and still later merely *Cubels*. The other *Mansabdars* held jagirs (Blochmann's Translation of the *Ain i Akbari*, Vol I pp 241-4)

⁵ *Kifâyat farjam* Lit with sufficient happiness.

⁶ *Amâl agents* governors nobles tax-gatherers

⁷ *Karorî* was an officer in charge of the revenues of *karor* (10 millions) of *dâms*. The *Ain i Akbari* says *ویک لک کرور داناں پشکے حد کرور میردند* (Ek I Ain 2 Blochmann's Text l p 10 ll 4 5) And zealous and upright men were put in charge of the revenues each over one *karor* of *dâms* (Blochmann's Translation l p 13) "The *dâm* was a copper coin weighing 5 *tanaks* i.e. 1 *tolah* 8 *wasahans* and 7 *rukhs* it is the fortieth part of a rupee. At first this coin was called *Faslah* and also *Edaholi* now it is known under this name (*dâm*). On one side the place is given where it was struck, and on the other the date, (Ek I Ain 9 Blochmann's Trans p 31)

⁸ *Istemsâd* "continuance perpetuity fixed sent not liable to alteration

⁹ *Istiqar* "requiring a settlement confirmation ratification.

¹⁰ Lit. Binding

¹¹ *Chak* ordinarily means a bond, deed or note. According to the *Ain i Akbari* B III Ain 6, it was the duty of the above said *amâl* or *amâl-guzars* (عمل گذار the revenue collectors) to ascertain the correctness of *chak namâh* (چک نامہ مستحق)

(گردانہ) (Blochmann's Text l p 287 l 16 Trans II Jarrett p 47) According to Jarrett (the *chak namâh* "is a grant of alienated lands specifying the boundary limits thereof. *Chak*, according to Elliot, is a patch of rent-free land detached from a village" (Jarrett II p 47 n 1)

¹² *Quashidân* "to make a present on the renewal of a lease, to transmit (used with a negative)" *bidangas*.

know in their possession, (they should), by no means¹ at all,² make any change or alteration³, and on account of land tax,⁴ and duties on manufacture,⁵ capitation taxes⁶ and extraordi-

¹ *Aslan* by no means not at all never in no shape

² *Mutlaq-an* absolutely entirely

³ There are two or three small words after *taḡīr* and *taḡīl* which are not legible but *Munshi Nasir Ali Khan* a reading given above seems probable. The insertion of that reading "raḡāḡan raḡā" make the sentence more elegant and do not change the meaning. The rendering of the sentence with the addition of these words would be "They, shall not give way to any change or alteration in any way whatever."

⁴ We read in the *Āin-i Akbarī* (Pl. III *Āin* V)

(Blochmann's Text I, p. 224 II 1st 13)

در تورات و انراں برخی را بعدیاں مال برگزید و طائفه را بآئین
 حیات برسانید و لحتی را بطور مائرجیات . آنکه برارامی مزدوی
 رواج رسع دوار باد انرا مال گردند و انواع مختومه گزیده حیات
 خوانند و بانی را مائرجیات

In Iran and Turan, they collect the land tax (*mal*) from some from others (the *Jahā* and from others again the *Ṣāḡ* & *Jahā*). What is imposed on cultivated lands by way of quit-rent is termed *Mal*. Imports (? imposts) on manufacturers of respectable kinds are called *ḡāḡā*, and the remainder *Ṣāḡ* & *Jahā*: (Jarrett's Translation Vol. II, pp. 5-58)

In a very interesting article of Mr. Gulshan Pal in the September 1919 issue of the *Indian Review* entitled "Taxation and Financial Administration under the Moghals" we get a good summary of the Mogal system of public revenues including the land revenue. The land revenue system is said to have been first defined and brought into shape by Raja Todar Mall. The cultivable land was divided into four classes and the share of the State in the produce of the crop varied according to the class. Under Todar Mall's Decennial settlement, an aggregate of the actual collection for the past ten years was formed and a tenth of the total was fixed as the annual settlement. After the expiry of five years this assessment was made permanent. As to the other sources of public revenue they were known by the name of *kor* in Hindu period and *Jahā*, *Sar Jahā*, and *abedā* in the Mahomedan period. These imposts were either custom duties or transit duties on merchandise or taxes on sales of houses, market places, persons, cattle, trees, professions and manufactures, fees and royalties charged on marriages, discount on the exchange of coins, fees on fishery rights and manufacture of salt lime and spirituous liquor. In modern phraseology some of these imposts were Imperial taxes, some provincial rates and other local cesses.

⁵ Vide the above note for *Jihāt*.

⁶ *Ikhrājāt* pl. of *ikhrāj* from *ikhrāj* i.e. capitation tax

We read in the *Āin-i Akbarī* (Bl. III *Āin* VII) در امدان امر آدم چندی

در امدان امر آدم چندی "In ancient times, a capitation tax (a tax per head) was imposed called *Ikhrāj* (Blochmann's Text I, p. 200 II 24 25 Jarrett's Trans. II, p. 55). King Kobad first thought of abolishing the tax taking it to be unfair but it was Noshirvan who finally did away with it (Ibid). It appears that in India, in the Mogal times *Ikhrāj* was the tribute paid by the *Khīrāj* lands (i.e., lands "which those outside the (Mahomedan) faith retain on convention" (Ibid II, p. 57). In fact, this tax was the same as *Jaryāq* (capitation tax in Persia in the time of the Khalifas).

nary contributions,¹ such as *qanlaghe*² and presents³ and fines and tax gatherers fees⁴ and village assessments⁵ and marriage

¹ *Awarizit* from *awaris* i.e., extraordinary contributions.

² *قنلغم* *qanlaghe*. We must settle what this word is. It occurs in both the farmans of King Akbar (Vide the photolitho facsimiles given by me in my paper on the two farmans referred to above J. R. I. R. V. Vol. XVI). The first of this two farmans gives the word as *قنلغم*. Persian Dictionaries do not give us that word. The second farman gives the word with no points (*nukhtas*) over any of the letters. In my above paper I was doubtful about the reading of this word. I then said "This word is not clear and legible. One may read it *قنلغم* *qu la*. It would mean anything paid into the exchequer unwelcomed, borrowed money" (i.e., *iqogana*). I think, it is the same as *قنلغم*, spoken of as one of the imposts of King Akbar a time in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. III. *Ain-i-Akbari* Blochmann's Text I p. 301 l. 4). Another manuscript (of the *Ain-i-Akbari*) gives the word as *قنلغم*. In Blochmann's Text the word is marked as doubtful (?). Jarrett has not translated it saying, he "cannot trace it" (Translation Vol. II, p. 67 note 1). Vide my paper in J. R. I. R. V. Vol. XVI p. 167 n. 4). The above mentioned other reading of the word is not explained by Persian dictionaries. Now our present farman seems to solve all the previous doubts and difficulties. Here the word is clearly given as *قنلغم*, and I now feel sure that it is one of the imposts (*vajizats*) of King Akbar's time referred to by Abu'l-Fazl, in the 11th *Ain* of the *Ain-i-Akbari* headed "Land and its classification and the proportionate dues of sovereignty." I think that this *sa'af* settles Blochmann's doubts about the reading of the word.

As to what particular kind of impost it was we are not in a position to say with certainty. Col. Jarrett says, he cannot trace it. I beg to submit the following explanation with some diffidence. The first part of the word *قنل* (*quilo*) means "a slave especially one born in the family whose father and mother are slaves." The second part of the word *لغم* (*laghe*) may be the Indian word, known in Gujarati as *લગ* (*lag*) meaning tax. It comes I think from *लग्न* so the impost meant by the word may be a tax of a slave possessed by a man of means. One must not understand by the word slave a slave in the most ordinary sense of the word e.g. when we speak of slave trade but in the sense of a life-long family servant in which sense it is used in my paper entitled "A Parsee Deed of Partition more than 150 years old: a form of slavery referred to therein" (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay Vol. VI pp. 1-16. Vide my Anthropological Papers Part I pp. 16-17). I am supported in this surmise by the fact that in the *Ain-i-Akbari* list of the various taxes and imposts which includes this impost we find, among other taxes of the kind a tax on each head of oxen, a tax on each tree. So it is possible that the impost of *qanlaghe* may be a tax on each head of slave.

³ *Pishkash* or royal fee was one of the imposts (*vajizats*) of the Mogul times. It is referred to as such in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. III. *Ain-i-Akbari* Text p. 61 Jarrett II p. 66). Akbar remitted it with several other taxes. It was a magnificent present such as is only presented to princes, great men superiors or sometimes to equals (particularly on receiving a great appointment). *Steings*.

⁴ Perhaps, it is the same impost as *راہداری* *rahadari* in Bk. III. *Ain-i-Akbari* (Ibid.).

⁵ *Zabtinah*, from *abb*, which word according to Jarrett was applied by Abu Fazl loosely for the revenue collection or assessment of a village (Vol. II p. 153 n. 1). The word occurs in the 15th *Ain* (Bk. III) where Jarrett translates it as "revenues in cash from crops chartered at special rates" (Vol. II p. 153 Text, p. 41 l. 16.)

fees¹ and the fees of the Daroghā² and forced labour³ and forced attendance at hunting (*shikār*)⁴ and supplying of soldiers⁵ and

1 *Mahrānah* was "a tax exacted by the Qizil from the Mahomedans at weddings (Steingass). Perhaps, it is the same as the marriage tax referred to as being on *حدا* (marriage) in the *Āin-i Akbari* (Text p. 401 Blochmann's Transl. I pp. 78). Abu Fazl thus speaks of marriage and refers to the marriage tax in Bk. II c. 24 under the head of "Regulations regarding marriages." Every care bestowed upon this wonderful tie between men is a means of preserving the stability of the human race and ensuring the progress of the world. It is a preventive against the outbreak of evil passions and leads to the establishment of homes. Hence His Majesty inasmuch as he is benign watches over great and small and seduces men with his notions of the spiritual union and the equality of essence which he sees in marriage. He abhors marriages which take place between man and woman before the age of puberty. They bring forth no fruit, and His Majesty thinks them even horrid. For afterwards, when such a couple ripens into manhood they dislike having connexion and their home is desolate. Here in India where a man cannot see the woman to whom he is betrothed there are peculiar obstacles but His Majesty maintains that the consent of the bride and bridegroom, and the permission of the parents are absolutely necessary in marriage contracts. His Majesty disapproves of high dowries for as they are rarely even paid they are mere sham but he admits that the fixing of high is a preventive against rash divorces. Nor does His Majesty approve of every one marrying more than one wife for this ruins a man's health and disturbs the peace of the home. He has also appointed two sober and sensible men, one of whom inquires into the circumstances of the bridegroom, and the other into those of the bride. These two officers have the title of *Tulbegi* or masters of marriages. His Majesty also takes a tax from both parties to enable them to show their gratitude. The payment of this tax is looked upon as suspicious. *Mansabdars* commanding from five to one thousand pay 10 *Muhurs*. The middle classes pay one Rupee and common people one dam. In demanding this tax the officers have to pay regard to the circumstances of the father of the bride. (Blochmann's Transl. pp. 78 Text Bk. I *Āin-i Akbari* p. 401).

Akbar's subjects or marriage censors remind us of such marriage censors of the ancient Romans whose principal business was to see that people did not spend much after marriage festivities. They had the right of attending marriage gatherings and of driving away marriage guests over and above a fixed number permitted by the state.

2 *Daroghānā* was one of the imposts of Akbar's time (*Āin-i Akbari* Bk. III *Āin-i Akbari* Text p. 301 l. 6 Jarrett II p. 66). *Darogha* was the headman of an office, prefect of a town or village, overseer or superintendent of any department (Steingass). "The inspection of village record and the preparation of circle accounts was the work of a *Darogha* or Inspector" (Culhan Rai).

3 *Begar* Employing an one without a remuneration (Steingass). Forced labour was prevalent in Mogul times. From a farman of Shah-Jahan inscribed on the *Jami Masjid* at Srinagar in Kashmir on 14th of Isfahar (February) Perhaps Hijri 1001 (A.D. 1600-01) we learn that Shah-Jehan did away with this custom of *Begar* from Kashmir in the matter of the collection of saffron from Government fields.

Or from 'Bay word *Begar*' (بغا) i.e. a labourer seems to come from this word. It seems that originally a *Begār* was a forced labourer. The word originally may be *bag* or *li* i.e. work exacted without (payment).

4 Neither the *Āin-i Akbari* nor the *Tuzuk-i Jehangiri* throws any light on this word, as to what this impost was. It seems to be something like *Begar*. Just as the *Ulagers* had to submit to forced labour for Royal or Government services, so perhaps they had to submit to go as hunters when the Mogul Kings and their officers went a hunting. Perhaps it was incumbent on the holders of land to supply a certain number of *bandas* and *Sikaris* to serve as labourers and hunters to high Government officials.

5 *Mand-i Aṭar* Lit. Men for the Army. It seems that this impost was one like the two freed by ones. It was incumbent upon large holders of royal lands that they must when necessary procure recruits for the Army.

five per cent tax¹ and allowances paid to *muqaddams*² and *rûbâ'ûl*³ and two per cent tax⁴ and *kânûngû*⁵.....⁶ and imposts on manufactures,⁷ and dues⁸ of duties on manu-

¹ Deh niml. lit. half of ten i.e. five per cent. It was one of the imposts referred to in the *Ain-i Akbari* (Bl. III, am XI Text I, p 300, l 21 Jarrett II, p 66) We read there

شهریار آگاه دل در مال دادگان که گذارش یافت نوازش
فرمود در حیات ده یک بخشود ده بیم قرارداد و صد دوئی بقواری
نصفی بدو و نیمی بقادوگر بار گردد نخستین نویسد است از طرف
بزرگان خرج و دخل نویسد و پنج دیر بی او نباشد و پس ملاذ
کشادوران و در هر پرگنه یکی بود و امور حصه قانوگر برانداختند
شرط خدمت گزینی سه گونه اردوگاه باشد (Text p 300, ll 21-24)

"His Majesty in his wisdom thus regulated the revenues in the above-mentioned favourable manner. He reduced the duty on manufacture from ten to five per-cent. (*deh niml*) and two per-cent (*sad-dûi*) was divided between the *potwars* and the *kânûngû*. The former is a writer employed on the part of the cultivator. He keeps an account of receipts and disbursements and no village is without one. The latter is the refuge of the husbandman. There is one in every district. At the present time the share of the *kânûngû* (one per-cent) is remitted and the three classes of them are paid by the State according to rank (Jarrett II, p 67)

² *Muqaddam*. This word is familiar to us in our Indian form मुकदम. This seems to be a new kind of impost. It is not mentioned in the *Ain-i Akbari*. A *muqaddam* is "a superior officer of the revenue in a village, a title of respect among villagers. A leader, a chief, commander" (Steingass)

³ I cannot make out what this impost was.

⁴ Vide the above note for this tax. lit. Two in the hundred, i.e. two per-cent

⁵ Vide the above note. His fee is one per cent. Jarrett says as follows of the *kânûngû*. "An officer in each district acquainted with its customs and land tenures and whose appointment is usually hereditary. He receives reports from the *potwars* of new cases of alluvion and diluvion, sales, leases, gifts of land etc. which entail a charge in the register of notations. He is a revenue officer and subordinate to the *tahsildar* (Jarrett vol II, p 4" n 3). He was a *kâshtâr* of land records. This officer was appointed directly by the Crown, one for each *pargana*. He was in charge of all land records of the *pargana*. He was to keep a record of all land assessments and the state ments in his charge showed what was due from each land holder. All sales and transfer of property were also to be carefully verified by him."

⁶ For the two words here, see the foot note at this portion of the text. Vide above

⁷ مستقره. *Mubtarifa*. Vide the footnote of this portion of the text.

⁸ زکوة. *Zakat*. The word is also written زکاة and it means "alms given according to Mahomedan law by way of purifying or securing a blessing to the rest of one's possessions" (Steingass). Jarrett thus speaks of it. "The poor rate the portion there from given as the due of God by the possessor that he may purify it thereby the root of the word, زکاة denoting purity. The proportion varies but is generally a fourtieth or 2½ per cent, provided that the property is of a certain amount and has been in possession eleven months" (Jarrett's Translation of the *Ain* II p 67 n. 4). Abu'l-Yazl, while speaking of "land, which those outside the faith retain in convention" and which they call *kharaj*, says that the tribute paid by *khiraj* land is of two kinds. 1. *Mukâmah* (divided) is the 5th or 6th produce of the soil. 2. *Warfah*, what is settled according to the capability and convenience of the individual. Some call the whole produce of the revenue *kharaj* and as the share of the producing body is in excess of their expenditure, the *sakât* taken from the amount under certain stipulations and this they call a tithe, but on each of these points there is much difference of opinion. The Caliph Omar, during his time taxed those who were not of his faith at the rate of 45 dînars for persons of condition, 24 for those of the middle class, and 12 for the lowest class. This was called the *Jalal* (a capitation tax). (Jarrett II p 5").

facture¹ and annual revenno collections² no molestation may be given (to them) and no exactions³ made for the ascertainment of the grant (*chak*) and the burden⁴ of the cultivation taxes and of all civil dues⁵ and royal taxes⁶ and they may count them as pardoned and free and absolved⁷ from all taxes⁸ references⁹ and transfers¹⁰ And in this matter they shall not ask every year for a renewed royal *farman* and they shall not turn back from what is (hereby) ordered and shall be true to (this) contract

Written on the 11th of the month Shahrivar Ilahi year 13 only¹¹

(Translation of the Writing on the back of the Farman¹²)

(This farman is in the matter of) The rid of livelihood in the name of Mullā Jamasp and another¹³ with (their) children according to the Yad dasht of the Waqiah dated roz (i.e. day) Tir 13 mah (i.e. month) Azar (Idar) year thirteen corresponding with Wednesday¹⁴ corresponding to the 16th of Zul hijja year 1027, during the (time of the) *chok* of fortunate Mustafa Khan the protector of chiefs¹⁵ and leaders¹⁶ (and) during the *rasalah* of Sayid Ahmad Kidari the protector of chiefs and leaders the giver of power¹⁷ to chieftainship¹⁸ and to magisterial dignity (and) during the *Ma rasat*¹⁹ of Nurud din Quli who was worthy of favours²⁰ (and) lord of exalted dignity²¹ and during the period²² of the *waqas ahnawish* Mahmud Baqr who is an humble member of the Court During that time²³ there waited upon²⁴ His most

1 Imports (*Impost) on manufacture of respectable kind are called *jihat* and the remainder **Jahat* (Ain-i Akbari Bk III c. 111 Jarrett II p. 59)

2 *Zabt*. Vide above the note on the word *Zatmanat*

3 *Mafid* abai from *talab*

4 *Takdr* quest on dispute burden

5 *Takd* / pl. of *taklif*, trouble

6 *Matalat* pl. of *Matalab* demand from *talab*

7 *Ma fū u ligalam* absolved, remitted.

8 *Eashmat rasum* (pl. of *ra. m*) ex. tom² common dues tax / etc

9 *Idqat* from *ilāq* reference application

10 *Hawalat* pl. of *hawala* transfer charge, care

11 The word *فقط* meaning only is peculiar to this *farman*. We do not find it in *ikhar*s above two *farman*s. It seems to have been written here in the same sense as we now a days, write the word only in cheques of money which we pass. This is intended to show that the writing is finished and it was only up to the last preceding word, to that nobody could add to it

12 The writing on the back of the *Farman*s what is called *Sharh i ta'liqah* (شرح تعلیق) i.e. Explanation of the *ta'liqah*. It is so named in the first of the two *farman*s given to Dastur Meherji Rana. In the second it is spoken of as *Sharh ba'l hishiveh* (شرح بالهشيه) i.e. marginal explanation. The word *Sha hi*, used even by the

Parsees as *Shareh* (شرح) in the sense of the commentaries or explanation of the sacred writings. The following passage from the *Ain-i Akbari* will explain some of the technical words as *chak*, *waqiah*, *yal-dasht*, *ilāqah* &c. used in this *farman*.

Sharh ita liqah Talliqah is a technical term used in the Ain-i-Akbari or an abridgment of the yaddasht (i.e. memorandum) of His Majesty's orders about the farman etc. Its explanation in detail is said to be its *shark*. The following passages from the 10th and 11th Ains will explain who made this yaddasht or memorandum and talliqah or abridgment and how they were made and why this abridgment of the memorandum has been added here. We read the following in the 10th Ain on the waqlahnawis (i.e. the writer of events): Keeping records is an excellent thing for a government.

His Majesty has appointed fourteen zealous experienced and impartial clerks, two of whom do daily duty in rotation so that the turn (nasbat) of each comes after a fortnight. Their duty is to write down the orders and the doing of His Majesty and whatever the heads of the departments report the acts of His Majesty as the spiritual guide of the nation, appointments to manebas contingents of troops salaries jagirs.

After the diary has been corrected by one of His Majesty's servants it is laid before the emperor and approved by him. The clerk then makes a copy of each report signs it and hands it over to those who require it as a voucher when it is also signed by the Farmanchi by the Mir Arz and by that person who laid it before His Majesty. The report in this case is called yad-dasht or memorandum.

Besides there are several copyists who write a good hand and a lucid style. They receive the yaddasht when completed keep it with themselves and make a proper abridgment of it. After signing it they return this in lead of the yaddasht when the abridgment is signed and sealed by the Waqlahnawis and the El-tahhar the Mir Arz and the Farmanchi. The abridgment thus completed is called Talliqah and the writer is called Tiluqhnawis. The Talliqah is then signed as stated above and sealed by the ministers of State. (Blochmann's Translation I pp 23-29 Text I pp 19-3)

This passage of the 10th Ain then explains the terms talliqah (abridgment of memorandum) and warisah (writing or record) which occur in the 6th Patnabab.

The following passage of the 11th Ain explains why this Talliqah or abridgment of the memorandum of the king's orders has been entered on the back of the Farman.

The Qahib-i-Tanjah (the master of military account) keeps the former Talliqah with himself writes its letak on the Farman and seals and signs it. It is then inspected by the mukasib and is signed and sealed by him. Afterwards the Nizari and the Fakhr al-Din likewise when it is sealed by the Dwan his accountant and the Talib of the State. (Blochmann's Translation I pp 26-6 Text I pp 19-11 12-14)

13 Wa ghairah i.e. Et cetera or another. This word also like the word *saqi* (sily) referred to above reminds us of some similarity to our present writings in money matters. When there are accounts in more than one name in Banks etc. in writing clerks over these accounts we only write the first name and add after it another or others. The same is the case in legal documents.

14 Kam-i-Shamshir Kam-i-Shamshir I will speak below at some length why contrary to the usual practice of calling Wednesday Chahar-Shamshir Jahangir calls it Kam-i-Shamshir.

15 Nizariyat dominion rule chieftainship
16 Na'ib al-ta'aruf of the people master of dignity
17 Ista'za power strenuous learning
18 Al-tarab from Sultan's chief minister, from Sadra chief government a high official

19 Na'ib al-ta'aruf knowledge account, means By means of through by means of

20 Anayat favour solicitude assistance

21 Wa'qf Eshan Lord (Khan) of exalted dignity (wazir)

22 Naobat its period In the Court military language it also means a guard

which is relieved "

23 i.e. During the time when the above named officers held their respective posts

24 i.e. near guard i.e. L. Lit. They passed in waiting

noble and most holy Majesty, Mullâ Jâmûsp and Mullâ Hosbang Parsî of (or from).....¹ on the 2nd day of month Shehrivar year 13, and presented four globlets² of the oil of fulel³ His Majesty presented⁴ in Court⁵ a sum⁶ of one hundred Rupees, and a world obeyed order, having the lustre⁷ of the sun, was issued, that about one hundred bigâhs of land (measured) in Ilâhî gaz according to the general practice⁸ from the *qasba* of Naosarî in the *Sarlâr* of Surat be settled upon the above-named⁹ persons with their children for the purpose of aid of (their) livelihood¹⁰

In the *rasâlah* of the humble servant of the Court, Sayid Ahmad Qidari, in the *Ma'rafat* of Nûrrud dîn Qulî, this (gift) may be entered in the wâquah. Another *Sharh* is (or may be) entered at that time in the *Waqi'ah* in the handwriting of Jumlat ul Mullâ¹¹ Madâr ul mahâmûmî¹² The marginal *sharh* in the hand writing of the *Waqi'ah* navîsh is according to the *waqî'ah*. The *Sharh* in the hand writing of the Jumlat-ul Mullâ Madâr ul Mahâmûmî has entered the request (in its record). Another *Sharh* in the elegant hand writing of Sayid Mir Muhammad on day Rashn 18 (of) month Asfandârmaz ilâhî 13, corresponding to [Saturday the 16th¹³] Rabi'ul awwal 1028 . . . reached again (or was repeated in) the dignified curtain of the Heaven resembling Court (of the King) and like the order of fate, was issued as an order. Another *sharh* in the hand-writing of Jumlat-ul Mullâ Madâr ul Muhammad. The *farman* may be written from Rabi'ul awwal Only¹⁴.

One hundred bighas of land (measured) by Ilâhî gaz.

¹ Vide the Text above for the conjectural readings of three illegible words.

² Bînu a globlet of rose water.

³ Fulel is a fragrant oil prepared in India from Jasamine. *Ful* فل is a species of water lily.

⁴ *Marhamat farمودeh*. Lit. having ordered a present. Perhaps from the want of a clear distinct style one may say that the presentation of Rs. 100 was from the Mullas to His Majesty in the form of *navar*. But on carefully examining the style (ع) مرحمت فرمود it seems that the gift was from the King to the Mullas.

⁵ Ra Hazur.

⁶ Mahlagh a sum, ready money.

⁷ Shu'a Light lustre.

⁸ Zabita, universal rule general practice judicial usage.

⁹ Mushâr ilâhî above mentioned a fore-cast.

¹⁰ Vide the Note in the Text for this portion which is illegible. It seems to refer to the *pad-dâst* or *chokki* of some officer.

¹¹ It was a title. Here, the officer is named not by his personal name but by his title. The Chief (lit. the sum total) of the kingdom.

¹² This also was a title. Lit. Centre of important affairs i.e., a minister.

¹³ Vide above, the foot note of the text for the reading.

¹⁴ Vide the foot note above for this word.

IV.

DECIPHERMENT OF THE SEALS AND SOME OTHER SHORT
WRITINGS ON THE FARMÂN

We will now proceed to the decipherment of the seals on the farmân, of the writings accompanying the seals, and of some other notes on the *farmân*

The very first thing that draws our attention on holding the Farman in our hands is the top-line in the centre, giving the words, Alla'u Akbar We learn from Badaoni's *Muntakhab-ut Tawârikh*,¹ that it was in 983 Hiji (A D 1575 76) that Akbar introduced this form of salutation. While discussing its question at Court, one courtier objected to its use, as it had an ambiguous meaning, because it would mean either "God is Great" or "Akbar is God," but Akbar overruled the objection, saying, that "no man who felt his weakness would claim Divinity," He added, that "he merely looked to the sound of the words, and he had never thought that a thing could be carried to such an extreme."

After the above formula of invocation, we come to the seal, In the case of Akbar's two Farmâns, the seal was round King Akbar's and his ancestors' names upto that of Taimur were given in eight small circles within a large circle. The circle of Akbar's name was in the centre of the circular seal. Then we found the circles of the names of his ancestors. Timur's name was in the top circle. Then, Miran Shah's in the circle next to that of Taimur coming down from the left. Then, the names of Sultan Mahammad Mirza, and Sultan Abdul Sayid. Then, going up on the right from down below, the circles bore the names of Mirza Omer Shekh Bîdshâh Bâbar and Badshâh Humâyûn. All these names except that of Taimur began with *ibn* ابن, i.e., the son of.

Now the seal on Jahangir's Farmân under our examination is a square one, instead of a circular or round one. The photo of the farmân, has not come off well, as one would wish. That was so also in Akbar's farmân. Even looking to the original farmân, which is placed here on the table for inspection, it is with great difficulty that you can, with the help of a powerful magnifying glass, read some names. Now, the King's seal in the present farmân, though a square, has, if you will carefully see it with

a magnifying glass, a large circle within it and the other small circles are, as in the Akhar's farmân, within the circle. Akbar had to make room for the names of his seven ancestors, upto Taimûr Jehangîr, being the son of Akbar, had to make room for names of eight ancestors upto Taimûr.

(a) As in the case of Akbar's farmân, we find Jehangîr's own name in the central smaller circle in the middle of the larger circle within the square. We read there his name arranged as follow —

عاری
جہانگیر بادشاہ
محمد
نور الدین

This arrangement gives the whole name as

محمد نور الدین جہانگیر بادشاہ عاری

I am sure of the reading of the upper lines but not so of the last line containing the word نور الدین

The names of Jehangîr's eight ancestors are contained in the eight small circles round his name

(b) The circle just over the above central one bearing his own name contains the name of his furthest eighth ancestor. The name is not legible, a portion of the paper having been destroyed, but there can be no doubt that it contains Taimûr's name, because (c) the next lower one on the left contains, as in Akbar's farmâns, the name of Taimûr's son Miran Shah. We read the name in the following order —

شاہ
میر
ابن ابی

Which gives the whole reading as ابن میران شاہ

The word ابن (the son of) occurs as the first word of the lowest line in every inner circle

(d) Coming down further on the left, we read the name as follows —

میرزا
محمد سلطان
ابن ابی

This gives us ابن سلطان محمد میرزا

(c) Then in the lowest middle circle, we read —

سلطان
ابن

This gives us the name سلطان ابن محمد

(f) Then in the circle on the right of the above we read —

عمر
ابن
عمر شجاع

This gives us the name ابن عمر شجاع عمر

(g) Then, in the circle going up on the right we read —

شاه
بابر داد
ابن

This gives us the name of Babar as ابن بابر داد شاه

(h) Then going further upward we read —

دادشاه
هما
ابن
نور

This gives us Humayun's name as ابن هما ون دادشاه

(i) Lastly we come to the circle containing Akbar's name. A portion of it is destroyed wherein the missing word seems to be دادشاه. The other words which can be read with some difficulty make up the reading as

دادشاه
اکبر
محمد
ابن

This gives us the name as ابن محمد اکبر دادشاه

Thus the whole of the King's seal will read as —

محمد نور الدین جهانگزر دادشاه عاری ابن محمد اکبر دادشاه ابن
همایون دادشاه ابن بابر دادشاه ابن عمر شجاع عمر ابن سلطان ابو محمد
ابن سلطان محمد عمر ابن بابر دادشاه ابن¹ (امیر تیمور صاحب قران)

¹ The name is not legible. So the gap is filled from Akbar's *farmān* referred to above.

ie Mahmmad Nurud din Jehangir Badshah Gazi son of Mahmmad Akbar Badshah son of Humayun Badshah son of Babar Badshah son of Omar Sheikh Mirza son of Sultan Abu Sajid son of Sultan Mahmmad Mirza son of Miran Shah son of Amir Tumor Saheb i Qiran

As to the position of the King's seal Abu Fazl's — The seal of His Majesty is put above the Tughra lines on the top of the Farman (" دہمسی شہر فرار طعرا روی فرمان آراند)

We find this rule carried out in our Farman. We see that the seal is on the top and above the Tughra lines

In King Akbar's farman a horizontal line under his seal
 3 The Square said what the document was. It said containing Jehan that it was a farman of Akbar. In Jehan Gazi's farman under examination we find the statement not in a horizontal line under the seal but in a square on the left of the seal. The square has three somewhat incomplete horizontal lines at well nigh equal distances and eleven somewhat incomplete vertical lines two of which form the right hand and the left hand side limits of the square and the remaining lines occur in three equidistant groups each of three equidistant lines. The whole writing reads as Farman i Abul Muzaffar Nurud din Jehangir Badshah Gazi

(فرمان اوال مظفر محمد نورالدین حاکم دادساز عاری)

I will explain here how we arrive at this reading. Under the lowest horizontal line we read at first the word فرمان (the 2nd vertical line from the right giving us the *alif* of the word *farman*). Then the first vertical line of the square and first two letters و above the lowest horizontal line make up the word اور. Then the third fourth and fifth vertical lines together with the letters on the left of the word فرمان give us the word مظفر. Then the two letters مع in the small right hand top corner square formed by the first (from the right hand side) two vertical lines and the middle or the second horizontal line together with the two letters مد at the end of this second horizontal line give us the word محمد. Then the letters نور in the small square formed above م and the letter ر in the small square above it and the letter د next to مظفر under the lower horizontal line together with the letters ن in the small square above the د give us the word نورالدین. Then the last letters in the lowest line with the 9th and 10th

vertical lines give us the word **حانگر**. Then, the letters **ل** in the square containing the above letters **ن** with the letter **س** in the small square above it and the letters **ش** formed by the uppermost horizontal line ending shortwise with an **l** alif with the necessary three nuktas, above and with the **ز** in the north west corner give us the word **شادش**. Lastly the letters **ع** formed by the letter **ع** above the last letter of **حانگر** and the last left hand vertical line and the letters **ری** formed by the letter **ر** above **ع** and **ی** formed by the lowest horizontal line, commencing from the left, give us the word **عاری**. All the diacritical points for the letters are mostly given at the top, and some, in the body of the square, above some of the letters themselves.

his sober moments call me Muhammad Salim or Sultan Salim but always *Shahku Babā*. When I became king it occurred to me to change my name because this resembled that of the Emperor of Rum. An inspiration from the hidden world brought it into my mind that, in as much as the business of kings is the controlling of the world, I should give myself the name of Jahangir (World seizer) and make my title of honour (لقب) *Nūru d dīn* inasmuch as my sitting on the throne coincided with the rising and shining on the earth of the great light (the Sun). I had also heard, in the days when I was a prince from Indian sages, that after the expiration of the reign and life of King Jalāl d dīn Akbar one named *Nuru d dīn* would be administrator of the affairs of the State. Therefore I gave myself the name and appellation of *Nuru d dīn Jahangir Padshah* ¹

On looking to the original farman which I produce here
 1 Peculiarities of the Farman for inspection we find (a) firstly that the space of the above square on the left of the above seal differs a little from the rest of the paper. It is a little yellowish or gold coloured. (b) secondly, that some of the vowel marks of the letters of the writing are in red ink. Both these peculiarities are explained by what Jahangir himself says in his *Tuzuk*. He says * Our ancestors and forefathers were in the habit of granting jagirs to every one under proprietary title and adorned the farmans for these with the *al tamghā* seal which is an impressed seal made in vermilion (i.e. red ink). I ordered that they should cover the place for the seal with gold leaf (*tilāposh*) and impress the seal thereon and I called this the *altun tamghā* ³. We find here a kind of adaptation of the above order of Jahangir. The place for the seal is not covered with gold leaf nor is the seal itself impressed in red ink. But there is an adaptation. The seal is there and some space just on the left of it has gold or yellow colour applied to it and it is then written over with the name of Jahangir in a peculiar flourish of style. Again, instead of the whole being written in red ink, it is the vowel marks that are put in red ink.

¹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* Translated and edited by Rogers and Beveridge Vol I pp 12

² Rogers-Beveridge Vol I p 23

³ "Al is vermilion in Turki and *altun* gold. Jahangir means that he changed the name from *al tamghā* to *altun tamghā*

On looking to the body of the farman we find that the first two lines are short. This again is explained by what we read in the 11th aim of the *Ami Akhari*. It says that in what are called *parwanchas*, the lines are not short otherwise i.e. in farmans proper, they are short. It says 'Farmans are sometimes written in Tughra characters but the first two lines are not made short. Such a farman is called *parwanchah*. This being a *farman* and not a *parwanchah* the first two lines are short.

As to the Tughra character. Dr Steingass says in his Persian Dictionary 'The Royal titles prefixed to letters, diplomas or other public deeds are generally written in a fine ornamental hand. We find that our *farman* is written in such a fine ornamental hand but the two first lines are made short. So this farman is not of the *parwanchah* type but of a proper *farman* : *sabti*.

Now we come to the decipherment of the different seals and writings below the writing of the Sharh and *fatihah* on the back side of the *farman*. We find that the seals, the writings within and below them and the other three lines of writing at the bottom of the other side of the farman are all written in an inverted position. I have explained this question of inversion in my paper on Akbar's farman but I may briefly say here that the *Ami Akhari* (Bl II Aim 12) gives the reason. It says that the seals were put in the order of their folds (شکستی). So holding the document in our hands in the position in which it commences the first fold will present the bottom of the other side of the document where we find the seals of the principal officers. The passage of the *Ami Akhari* on this subject says

Farmans, *Parwanchas* and *Baratas* are made into several folds beginning from the bottom. (Blochmann's Text Vol I p 190 l 19 Translation Vol I p 263) After this explanation I will come to the seals and the writings, given in an inverted order on the lower half of the back side of the *farman*.

1. We will first determine the Text and the meaning of the three lines on the first fold of the *farman* after turning it over. Holding the farman in the usual way, in order to read it from the words *مدد معاش باسم* these lines occur at the foot of the page in an inverted position. These lines take a note of the document having been passed in the time (توب), when Mahmud Baqr was the *Waqish navab*. As the writing of these

three lines is much damaged we cannot read well all the lines but I give below the words that can be deciphered

برساله	دست رسد	1
مداوت بنای و بغایت پنا		2
و نوبت واقع نویسی متعدد نادر		3

Portions of these three lines are destroyed. The words of the first line are much destroyed. The first word is indistinct. The second seems to be *rasalah*. The next word is not legible. Then the next word seems to be 'dast (hand)'. Then the last word is *rasid* (reached) or may be *rasand*. The word *siya dat panuh va naqbat panah*, which are legible in the second line are applied in the text of the *Sharh* given above as words of honour to officers holding the *chouki* and the *resalah*. So the other missing and illegible words of these two lines seem to contain the names of the officers named in the *Sharh*. The first line may contain the name of the officer in charge of the *rasalah* and the second that of the officer in charge of the *chouki*. The last line gives the words 'naubat waqiah نویس Mahamad Baqr' in the time of the writer of the *waqiah* Mahammad Baqr. This name occurs in the text of the *sharh taliquah*. So the missing portions may be containing the names with some qualifying adjectives of one or more of the other officers named in the body of the *Sharh* viz. Mustafa Khan Savid Ahmad Qadri and Nuruddin Quli. So as far as they can be deciphered, the translation of the three lines is something like this

(The document) came to the hands of (to be recorded) in the *rasalah* of and (the *chouki*?) of who is the protector of chiefs and leaders and in the *naubat* (time) of the *waqiah* navis Mahammad Baqr

(2) The writing on the first seal on the left of the above three lines is not legible though a few letters here and there can be read. In the illegible writing under it, the figure twenty nine can be read. The next word may be *سهرورد*

(3) The next two seals on the left of the above also are illegible. The date under the third on the extreme left seems to be *فروردی ۱۲ ۱۲ Farwardin*

(4) The wording of the fourth seal below the above three seals is in the following order

پادشاه
لکھنؤ
مردد حباغا
لی
۱۰۲۰ صادر

This wording when properly arranged can be read as

جہانگیر بادشاہ مرید عالی صادر ۱۰۲۵

It means "Jehangir King, the royal deciple Issued in 1025" It appears from the date, that the royal seal which was affixed to the farmân was prepared in 1025 : i.e. two years before the date of the farmân. As to the word, "murid 'âlî," Jehangir thereby calls himself a disciple or follower of Akbar. In one of Akbar's farmâns, the first farmân, Khan Khanân calls himself "Murid : Akbar Shah" Jehangir, instead of naming his father, simply refers to him as 'âlî.

There is some further writing under the seal which is not quite clear. It seems to bear the name of some officers who put the seal. It also bears a date. We read words like مهر Meher and the figure ۲۵ : i.e. 25. We read also a word like سید Sayid. It may be the name of the officer, Sayid Ahmed Qadri referred to in the body of the Sharh.

5 Below these, there are two other seals. They are mixed up. We decipher under one of them the words ماء مهر

V

IDENTIFICATION OF THE PERSONAGES MENTIONED IN THE FARMÂN

We will now proceed to identify the various personages named in the Farmân and give some particulars about them. I give below the names in the order in which we find them in the Farmân.

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1 Mullâ Jamâsp | 5 Nûru d din Quli |
| 2 Mullâ Hoshang | 6 Mahmmed Baqr |
| 3 Mustafâ Khân | 7 Sayid Mir Muhammad |
| 4 Sayid Ahmad Kadari | |

As we have to speak at some length for the first two personages, the heroes of the farmân. I will first identify the rest.

We learn from Jehangir's Memoirs that Mustafâ Khan was a great Officer of his Court. In the 10th year of his reign his *mansab* was increased by 500 personal and 200 horse to 2,000 personal and 250 horse¹. In the 14th year of his reign he is represented as submitting offerings to the King². His name is mentioned with that of Nûru-d-din Quli, who also is mentioned in our farmân. During the 17th year of his reign, he was the Governor of Thatta, and "had sent, as an offering, a Shâhnâma

and a Khamsa (quintet) of Shikḥ Nizāmī illustrated by masters (of painting) along with other presents" ¹

Jehangir speaks of the "Sayyids of Barha" as "the brave ones of the age" and as those "who have held this place (i.e., command) in every fight in which they have been" ² They were in the van in his fight against his son Khusrau Sayyid Ahmad Kadri seems to be one of the members of this known family. His name is mentioned in the Tuzuk with that of Nūr u d dīn Qulī, whose name occurs in our farman next to Sayyid Ahmad's. He seems to have made his name even in Akbar's time. When Akbar was engaged in besieging Surat, Sayyid Ahmad, who is spoken of there as Sayyid Ahmad Khan Bārha, defended Pattan against Ibrahim Husam Mirzā's two colleagues in revolt, viz. Muḥammad Husam Mirza and Shah Mirza ³

According to the Tuzuk, Jehangir, Nūr u d dīn was one of the great officers of the Court. In the twelfth year of the reign, he "was honoured with the mansab, original and increase, of 3,000 personal and 600 horse" ⁴ In the 14th year of the reign, he was the *kotwal*, and he is spoken of as submitting his offering before the King ⁵ His name is mentioned with that of Mustafā Khān, who also is mentioned in our farman

Muḥamad Baqr seems to be the Baqr Khan, who, according to the Tuzuk, was, in the 13th year of the reign Fozdar of Multan ⁶ and in the 14th was raised to the mansab of 1,000 personal and 400 horse ⁷ In the same year (the 14th), he was given an elephant ⁸ and was honoured with a standard ⁹ He had some influence with the King, and so had secured pardon for one Allāh dad, who was in the ill will of the King ¹⁰ In the 16th year, he was in charge of 2,000 personal and 1,000 horse, which were reviewed by the King who then made him the Fozdar of Agra ¹¹ In the 16th year he was raised to the mansab of 2,000 personal and 1,200 horse ¹² In the same year he was made the Subah of Oudh ¹³ In the 17th year, we find him as the Fozdar of Oudh ¹⁴ In the 18th year, he took an active part in Jehangir's war with his son Khusrau ¹⁵

¹ Ibid p 232

² Tuzuk Ibid I p 64

³ Elliot I, pp 201-2.

⁴ The Memoirs of Jehangir by Rogers and Beveridge I p 418

⁵ Ibid II p 80

⁶ Memoirs of Rogers Beveridge II, p 4

⁷ Ibid p 82

⁸ Ibid p 86

⁹ Ibid p 100

¹⁰ Ibid p 100

¹¹ Ibid p 199

¹² Ibid p 210

¹³ Ibid p 217

¹⁴ Ibid p 252

¹⁵ Ibid p 254

We learn from the Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri, that he was a favourite of Jehangir. He was with the King in his tour of Gujarat. Once, the King asked him to demand from him whatever he liked, and swore on Korin that he would give it. But the Sayid asked only for a Koran. The King presented to him a very elegant copy of it, writing on it with his own hand, that the gift was made 'on a certain day and in a certain place.' In the account of this affair, the King thus speaks of this person: 'The Mir is of an exceedingly good disposition, endowed with personal nobility and acquired excellencies, of good manner and approved ways, with a very pleasing face and open forehead. I have never seen a man of this country of such a pleasing disposition as the Mir.'

Now, we come to the most important personages of the Farman, the donors of the Farman. Mulla and Mulla Hoshang, two of the several Parsies who visited the court of the Mogul Emperors of Delhi on different occasions.

According to the tradition recorded by Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel (Parsce Pralesch, Vol. I, p. 836, n. 3), on the authority of a note on the back of a document written by Dastur Framji Sorabjee Meherji Rana of Navsari (1738-1806), who was one of the if not the, most learned Dasturs of the

¹ Ibid. p. 34.

² The Bombay Gazetteer (Vol. IV, Part II, Gujarat, Population, pp. 183-243) thus speak of the different visitors of the Mogul Court of Delhi: 'Of the Parsies who visited the Mogul Court the names of eight remain. The first was Meherji Rana (1580-1610).

The second was Meherji's son Kekobad who about A. D. 1594-95 went to Delhi. The third was Mulla Jamsheer a priest of Navsari who about A. D. 1610 in return for a present of 300000 was given a piece of land named Ratnagiri near Navsari by the emperor Jahangir. The fourth was Rustam Khan who went with the lead of the Surat factory to Delhi in 1660. The fifth was Sorabji Kavasji who was of great service to the English in 1769 when they obtained command of the Surat trade at the post of Moghal Aden. He returned to Surat bringing dresses of honour and a horse to the heads of the English Company at Surat (Despatch from the Surat Chief in Council to the Bombay President and Council 3rd May 1769 in the 17th Series of Gujarat). It is said that Sorabji Kavasji who had been taught watch-making by a European first went to Delhi in 1744 to mend a favourite clock of the emperor. The emperor probably Muhammad Shah (A. D. 1719-48) was so pleased with Sorabji's skill that he honoured him with the title of Nek Saikhān that is Lord of the Lucky Hour gave him a pension on the customs revenue in Surat and the rank of a chief of 30 horse and 30000 of Nek Saikhān was an ancestor of the well-known Ardeshir Bahadur Kotwal of Surat. The sixth was Kavasji Pustamji their son at the high priest of Udvada who is said to have gone to Delhi as Nek Saikhān's attendant. He was given the title of Mirzan Khosro Beg and land near Surat which his family now known as the Mirzan family enjoyed for several years. Mirzan Khosro Beg's skill as a watchmaker descended to his son Katoji who was watch-repairer to Bajirav Peshwa. After Bajirav's fall (A. D. 1818) Katoji went to Bhavnagar with a clock of Bajirav's which the Bhavnagar chief had bought. In Bhavnagar he made entirely from local materials a large clock for which a tower was built and which is still (A. D. 1894) in order. Katoji's descendants have a high name in Bhavnagar and in Kathiawar generally for their skill as watch-makers and mechanics. The seventh was Kalabhai Sorabji the son in law of Nek Saikhān. It is said to have gone to Delhi to meet his father-in-law and received an estate in Kander in Surat. The eighth was Mancherji Kharsheji a wealthy merchant and well-known Dutch broker who some time before A. D. 1784 visited Delhi. It was said at the emperor's request who had heard of the liberality for which he was famous. (This article is printed in a separate book form by K. N. Surval and R. B. Patel, vide p. 15 n. 2.)

Meherji Rana family of Naosari, ¹ the original names of these two persons were Chāndji Kāmdin and Hoshang Rānji. Hoshang was the nephew (brother's son) of Chāndji.

There is one statement in the *Parsee Prakash*, that draws our special attention. The author, Mr. Bomanji Patel quotes from the manuscript of the above Dastur,—a statement, which says that the principal person of the Farmān, Mulla Jamasp (whose original name was Chandji Kamdin) had received the title of Mulla from king Akbar (અંગ્રેજી કામદીનને અકબર પાસેથી મુશ્તાં જમાસ્પને ખેલાય આપેલો હતો). I have found no other writing to confirm this statement of Dastur Framji about Mulla Jamasp. But, at the same time, there seems to be no reason to doubt that statement. The two Parsees were the contemporaries of the great Dastur, Dastur Meherji Rana, who had gone to the Court of Akbar. We learn from Mahomedan histories like the *Muntakhab-ut-Tavārikh* of Nadsani, *Tabakāt-i-Akbari* and from the *Dabistān*, that some other Parsees also had gone to the court of Akbar in the company of Dastur Meherji Rana on the occasion of the religious discussions. Upto now, we know of the name of only one Parsee, and that Dastur Meherji Rana. I think, that these two Parsees, the beneficiaries of our farmān, Jāmāsp and Hoshang, may possibly be two others of the party, and that when Dastur Framji refers in the above quotation, to Jamasp (Chandji Kamdin) having been given the title of Mulla Jamasp, his reference may be to the time when some Parsees headed by Dastur Meherji Rana had visited the court of Akbar. It is not said in the above quotation, why Chandji Kamdin (Jamasp) was given the title of Mulla Jamasp, but I think, it may be for his presence and some services in the religious discussions of his Court. The same must have been the case with Hoshang. Perhaps, one may ask then, why was not Meherji Rana given the title of Mulla. The answer is easy. He was already more than a Mulla. Being the son of a learned father and being a member of a learned family, he already held a high position in his town. So, he required no titular special recognition but was given land at Naosari.

If that is so, we can understand the fact, that the two Parsees, who had been at Akbar's Court and who were honoured by the king, having heard of the arrival of Akbar's son Jehangir at Ahmedabad, a few days' journey from Naosari, went there to pay their homage to the sovereign, whose father had given them material and literary hospitality at his court and had honoured them. While paying their homage, they carried as *nazar* or present some *attar* (perfume) which was well known then as one

¹ P. *Prakash* I, pp. 106-7.

of the best products of their land. Their presence may have drawn the attention of Jehangir to the fact of their presence at the court of his father. This fact and the additional fact of their having taken the trouble all the way from Naosari to Ahmedabad, to pay their homage to him and that with the *nazar* of an article like *aftar* which was always very acceptable to him, may have induced Jehangir to present them with land near their own town. I am not in a position to speak with any confidence on the subject of their visit to the Court of Akbar, but since a learned Dastur of a later time is said to have mentioned the fact, I beg to submit the above view of their possibly being members of Dastur Meherji Rana's party, for further consideration and inquiry.

I give below the ascending and descending lines of ancestors and heirs of Mulla Jamasp (Chandji) and Moola Hoshang. They are prepared from "The Geneology of the Parsi Priests" ¹ Out of these two lines, there may arise some doubts about the authenticity of the topmost names in the geneology in the ascending line, but none in the case of the descending line (the *farzandân* of the Farmân) as it is based on recent more authentic *firhasts* or records of descent kept at Naosari, the headquarters of the Parsi priesthood and on the *nâmgrahan* of the Dordi family which comes down from one of Mulla Jamasp's heirs.

Mulla Jamasp's Line of Ascent up to Jarthost Mobad

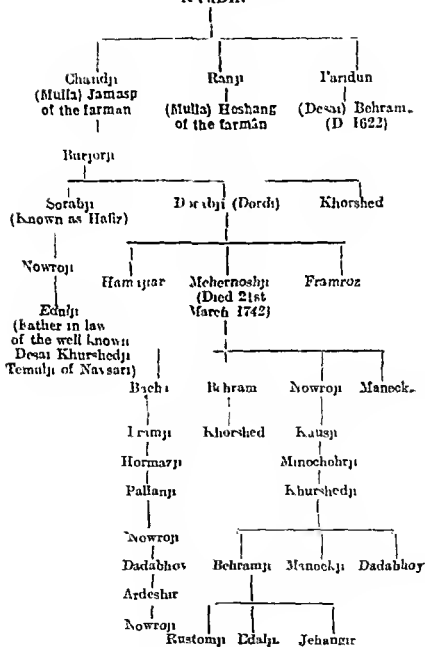
JARTHOST—MOBAD

|
Kundin
|
Mobad
|
Kamdin
|
Rana
|
Chandna
|
Anna
|
Pahlun
|
Wachâ
|
Kamdin

¹ "The Geneology of the Parsi Priests" by Ervad Rustomji Jamaspji Dastoor Meherji Rana issued for private circulation only by the liberality of Anstia Naoroj Ervad M. Parveez, with an introduction by Sir George Birdwood pp. 15 et seq.

Mulla Jamasp's Line of descent

KAMDIN



We see that in the case of the nephew—Hoshang Rangi—Their names and the title or honorific name was applied title as given in the before his own name Hoshang but in the Farman case of the uncle—Chandji Kamdin—his original name Chandji was changed to Jamasp. Among Parsee names, Chandji is a Hindoo name, derived from *Chandra* i.e. moon. Mr Behramji Dord, the owner of the documents while sending me this Chik namah, in his Letter dated 3rd November 1909, wrote અમલ દુરમાનમા મુજબ જામસ્પ વ હોશંગ કરી નામ છે પણ એ ધણીનું અમલ નામ ચાનડ કામદીન છે તે હોડુ નામ હોવાને શીરે ફેરવીને તપડુ નામ આપીજી i.e. 'The names in the original Farman are Mulli Jamasp and Hoshang. But this personages original name is Chandji Kamdin. That being a Hindu name it is changed to the above name.' The Mogul Emperors had a liking for Iranian names of ancient Persia. So it seems that King Jehangir while conferring the farman upon the Parsee to express his appreciation changed his Hindu name Chandji to an old Parsee name Jamasp. In the case of the nephew there was no reason to change it as his name Hoshang was an old Iranian name. We find from Jehangir's *Tuzuk* that at times, he conferred altogether new titled names upon persons whom he wanted to honour. For example, Jehangir Quli Beg a Larkhman was dignified with the title of Jan Sijar Khan.¹ Sham uddin Khan received the name and title of Jehangir Quli Khan.² Murtaza Khan of Deccan got the new name and title of Warzish Khan. We find a number of such examples. So it is quite possible that Jehangir while giving the farman for a gift of lands changed the Hindu name to a true old Persian name.

As to the title *Mulla* the two persons were priests and perhaps Jehangir was led to give it to them on account of their being priests or members of the priestly family.

I may say here a few words on some of the descendants. History of the of Mulla Jamasp the first of the two Descendants beneficiaries of the farman.

1 His grandson Sorabji was for his good knowledge of Persian known at Naosari as Hafiz i.e. gifted with a good memory.

2 His great great grandson Behramji Mehernoshji was the founder of the Naosari family known as the Dordi family. Mr

priests opposed this claim. The claim was examined by Mahomedan Judges in consultation with some leading Hindus and Parsees of Surat and decided in favour of the Naosari priests. The Surat priests occasionally disregarded this decision. So, in the above memorial, the Naosari priests prayed that a proper writing or *parianah* may be sent to them, embodying the above decision properly attested. Such a proper writing was sent to the Naosari priests. It had as witnesses or confirmatories, the signatures of about 41 Hindus in addition to those of about 22 Parsees.

4 Coming to the last but one generation of this line of descent we find, that the brothers Behramji, Maneckji, and Dadabhoi Cursetji Dordi had a helping hand in the founding of the Mherpurana Library at Naosari. They presented a number of books to form a nucleus of the library and one of them Behramji was one of the members of the first managing committee and its local Honorary Secretary from 1874 to 1878.

5 The late Mr Dadabhoi Nowroji the Grand Old Man of India, was the sixth in descent from this Mehernoshji. Our genealogical tree shows him as coming down from Bacha, the eldest son of Mehernoshji. The late Mr Behramji Cursetji Dordi, referred to above who had kindly placed at my disposal the original farman for a photo for Mr Irvine came down from Nowroji the third son of this Mehernoshji. I am thankful to the three sons of this Mr Byramji, and especially to Dr Jehangir B Dordi F R C S, for kindly placing again at my disposal for my present study the original *farman* and for giving me some particulars about the family.

VI

EXPLANATION ABOUT A FEW PARTICULARS OF THE FARMAN

Having spoken at some length on several points relating to the order observed in the Farman itself I will now speak of several facts referred to in the body of the *farman*.

In one place in the Farman there is the mention of a week
 1 Jehangir's name day Wednesday The usual Persian
 for Wednesday name for Wednesday is Chahar Shamba
 i.e. the fourth Shamba. Shamba
 means a day. Saturday which is the day after Juma (Friday),
 the sacred day of the week is simply called Shamba, i.e., the
 day Sunday, the next day is called Yak-shamba, i.e. the
 first day after the Shamba. Monday is called *Do-shamba*

and so on. Similarly, Wednesday is the *Chahur* (fourth) *Shamba*. Now, our Farman speaks of a week day as *Kam shamba* کم شنبه. Were it not for the *Tuzuk* (Memoirs) of Jehangir one would be at a loss to say, what that day is.¹ کم شنبه *Kam shamba* was the name given by Jehangir to Wednesday. The reason as given in the *Tuzuk* is this: on the 11th day of *Khurdad* month, of the 11th year of his reign when Jehangir was at Ajmere there died his grand daughter² daughter of Shah *Khurram* (afterwards *Shah Jehan*) of small pox. The day was Wednesday the 29th of *Jumadi ul awwal* 1025 *Hijri* (15th June 1616). Jehangir was much grieved at her death because she was the first child of the prince. Hence he directed that Wednesday, the day of the week on which the death took place may be called *Kam shamba*. The translator of the *Tuzuk* Mr Rogers seems to think that the word may be *Gum shamba*, i.e., the day on which the grand daughter was lost (gum).³ In our Farman the word is کم and not گم. So the word is *Kam Shamba* i.e. the less (fortunate) or unfortunate day.

We have another instance of how Jehangir according to his fancy changed the proper name of a week day. During the 12th year of his reign Jehangir named Thursday which is the fifth *shamba* *Mubarak* (i.e., auspicious) *shamba*. Thursday the 26th corresponding with the 14th of *Shaban*, which is the *Shah i barak* was first named *Mubarak shamba*. Jehangir thus gives the reasons. On this day of Thursday several special things had happened. One was that it was the day of my accession to the throne; secondly it was the *Shah i barak*; thirdly it was the day of the *rahi*, which has already been described and with the Hindus is a special day. On account of these three peices of good fortune I called the day the *Mubarak shamba*. Wednesday in the same way that *Mubarak shamba* had been a fortunate one for me had fallen out exactly the opposite. On this account I gave this evil day the name of *Kam shamba* in order that this day might always fall from the world (lessen).⁴ In his *Tuzuk* Jehangir continues to name Wednesdays and Thursdays as *Kam shamba* and *Mubarak shamba* e.g., he uses this name in his account of his hunting expedition in Gujarat in

¹ Mumtaz Nasir Ali Khan's copy of the farman and a Gujarati translation of the farman given to me by the family have misread the word and taken it to be *Yak shamba* i.e. Sunday.

² According to Beveridge her name was *Chitani Begum* which name may be *Chitani Begum*, i.e. verdant or garden-like Begum (Memoirs I p 3 c n 6).

³ Memoirs I p 37.

⁴ The *Tuzuk-i-Jehangir* by Rogers and Beveridge I p 386.

the 12th year of his reign¹ Further on we find that he ceased using these auspicious and inauspicious names²

We have an instance of Jehangir never naming even his son whom he disliked He says about his son Khurram (afterwards Shah Jahan) who had turned disloyal to him "I proceeded to punish that one of dark fortune, and gave in order that henceforth they should call him Bi daulat (wretch) Wherever in this record of fortune 'Bi daulat' is mentioned it will refer to him³" We find that thereafter he always speaks of Khurram as Bi daulat

The family tradition, current among the descendants of the Mullas, says that they went to the place of presentation of the Fulh or goblets of *atar* Delhi and presented the *atar* there The late Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel thus recorded the tradition in his Parsi Prakāsh,⁴ while speaking of the death of Mehernosh Darāb, the fourth in descent from Mulla Jāmāsp —

“ એવણુના બાપનો બપાવો આ ચાદર કામદીન તથા તેનો એક ભત્રીજો આ હોશંગ રાનજી કરી દીધી ખાતે ચાદ નગીરની દરબારમાં ૬૦૦ સ ૧૬૧૯ મા ગયા હતા અને એક દરતાવેજ ઉપરથી માવમ પડે છે કે એઓએ ચહુને મોગરાના અત્તરની એક બરની નજર કીધી, જેથી તે નામદારે ખુશી થઈ એઓને નવસારી કરાવ્યા ૧૦૦ વૉંધા જમીન વશ પરપરા ભેગ આપી, તથા ટેક છે કે દીલ્લીની દરબાર ખાતેથી આયા પછી એઓ “મુલ્લા જામસ્પને” નામે નવસારીમાં એલખાતા હતા, કે જે વિષે નવસારીવાના મસ્જિદ દરગુહ ફરામજી મોહરજીએ મેહેરજી રાણુએ એક દરતાવેજની પુઠે લખ્યું છે કે “ચાદર કામદીનને અશ્વર પાદશાહે મુલ્લા જામસ્પનો ખેતાબ આપેલો હતો ”

i.e., His great grandfather A (i.e. Andhiaru or priest) Chandji Kamdin and one of his nephews Andhiaru Hoshang Rami had gone in 1619 to Delhi in the court of Shāh Jehangir, and it appears from a document that they submitted to the king as an offering (*nazar*) a jar of the *atar* of daisies His Majesty thereupon being pleased gave them a hereditary grant of 100 bigahs of land in the *garhā* (town) of Naosari And it is (further) said that after returning from the Court of Delhi, he was known by the name of Mulla Jāmāsp at Naosari The late Dastur Framji Sobrabji Meherjirana of Naosari has thus written about this (matter) on the back of a document "Chandji Kamdin was given the title of Mulla Jāmāsp by king Akbar

¹ Ibid pp 404 405 413

² Ibid II, pp 163 167 16

³ Tuzuk II p 115

⁴ Vol I p 808 n 3

The *dostārej* (i.e., the document), referred to by Mr. Patel, seems to be our farman under examination, and it corrects Mr. Patel in the following matters which he heard as mentioned in the family tradition.

1. Firstly, Mullā Jāmāsp had not gone to Delhi. The presentation was not at Delhi.*
2. The proper date of the event is 1618 and not 1619, though the latter is the year in which a note of the farmān was taken in one of the court records.
3. The presentation from the Mulla was that of 4 goblets of the *atar* of Jessamine and not of one jar of the *atar* of daisy.

The most important correction is that in the matter of the place of presentation. It was not Delhi but was Ahmedābād. What we learn from the different dates mentioned in the body of the Farman and in its postscript, etc., is this :

(1) The two Parsees saw King Jehangir with some bottles of *atar* on the 2nd *roz* Bahman of Shehriyar (the 6th Parsee Month) in the 13th year of his reign. The 13th year of Jehangir's reign (which also was the new year's day, *Roz 1 Farwardin*) began on "Wednesday, the 23rd Rabi 'u-l-awwal, 1027 (March 10, 1618)."¹ So, the event of the interview happened on 15th August 1618 (New style).

(2) In appreciation of the present, acceptable to His Majesty, the Mullas were presented with a sum of Rs. 100 and land about 100 bigahs in area. The farmān of this gift was issued on the 11th (i.e., *roz Khorshed*) of the same month Shehriyar, i.e., 9 days after the presentation of the *itar* (*otar*). This corresponds with the 12th of Ramzan,² 24th of August 1618.

(3) A note of the Emperor's gift was taken in the *Yāddāsh* and a written farmān was issued on the 13th day *roz Tir* of the month *Ādar*, the 9th month of the Parsee Calendar, i.e., 3 months and 2 days after the issue of the Royal Farman orally. This date then comes to the 24th of November 1618.

(4) Then a note of the issue of the Royal Farman was made in the records of Sayid Mir Mahmud on *roz Rashne* (18th day) of month *Aspandārmaz*, the 12th month of the Parsee year. This then was the 27th of February 1619.

From these dates we see, that the presentation of the *atar* and the issue of the farmān took place in the month of Shehriyar of the 13th year of Jehangir's reign, i.e., in August 1618. Now

¹ Date calculated from the *Memoirs of Jehangir* by Rogers Beveridge, II, p. 1.

² From *Ibid.*, p. 312.

we learn from the Tuzuk of Jehangir, that on the 21st of Farwardin, the first month, Jehangir turned with his army towards Ahmedabad¹ On 23rd Farwardin he was at Jalod and on the 29th on the bank of the Mahi He left Mahi on the 1st of Ar dibehesht and on the 7th of the same month entered Ahmedabad In his account of the events of the month of Khurdad, he condemns Ahmedabad as "a spot devoid of the favour of God"² He condemns its air, soil and water He gives bad names to Ahmedabad, such as Samumistan, i.e. the place of the simoom, Bimarristan i.e. the place of sickness and Jahannamahâd, i.e. the seat of hell He continued to remain at Ahmedabad in the months of Tir and Amardad He had grand illuminations at the Kankaria tank there, on the occasion of the holiday of the Shab-i Barat We further read, that on the 1st of Shehriwar, he was still at Ahmedabad His advance camp left Ahmedabad for Agra on the 7th of Shehriwar,³ corresponding to 19th August 1618⁴ An auspicious hour was named by astrologers and astronomers for the march of the Kings and his men's camp He was to start on the 21st of Shehriwar (22 Ramzan 1027=2nd September 1618)⁵ Thus, on the 2nd day of Shehriwar (the 14th of August 1618) when the Mullahs presented themselves before the Emperor with their *na ar'* of the four goblets of the *alar* of jessamine, the emperor was at Ahmedabad

We find from the itinerary as given in the Tuzuk that the royal march was very slow As Jehangir himself says — "From Ahmedabad to Ujain is a distance of 98 kos (196 miles) It was traversed in 28 marches and forty one halts—that is in two months and nine days This comes to less than 3 miles per day After he arrived at Ujain on 1st of Âdar he stopped there long On the 2nd of the next month Deh he arrived at the fort of Ranthambur He then says —

The astrologers and astronomers chose the day of Mu barak shamba (Thursday) the 28th of the Divine month of Dai in my thirteenth year corresponding with the last day of the Muharram in the Hijri year 1028 (January 7 1619) as the proper time at which to enter the capital of Agra At this time, again it appeared from the reports of the lord that the disease of the plague was prevalent in Agra so that daily about 100 people, more or less were dying of it Under the armpits or in the groin or below the throat, buboes formed and they died This is the third year that it has raged in the cold weather and disappeared in the commencement of the hot season It is a strange thing that in these three years the infection has spread

¹ Tuzuk II p. 6

² *Ibid* p. 13

³ *Ibid* p. 20

⁴ Calculated from *Ibid* p. — note

⁵ *Ibid* p. 20 note

to all the towns and villages in the neighbourhood of Agra, while there has been no trace of it in Fathpūr. It has come as far as Amānībīd, which is 2½ kos from Fathpūr, and the people of that place (Amānībīd) have forsaken their homes and gone to other villages. There being no choice, and considering the observance of caution necessary, it was decided that at this propitious hour, the victorious army should enter the inhabited part of Fathpur in all joy and auspiciousness and after the sickness and scarcity had subsided and another auspicious hour had been chosen, I should enter the capital please the Almighty and most holy Allah"¹

He stayed at Fathpūr for more than three months. Then further on we read "On Sunday the 1st Urdibihisht, at the auspicious hour chosen by astrologers and astronomers, I mounted a special elephant of the name of Dibr, and in all prosperity and happiness entered the City"². Then, from Agra he went to Kashmir. From all the above, we find that for all the dates found in the Farman, the last of which was in Asfandarmaz, the king was not at all at Delhi. On the date of the issue of the Farman the 11th of Sherivar (23rd of August 1618) he was at Ahmedabad.

Thus we see that the family tradition that the Mullas went to Delhi to see the Emperor is not correct, though it is correct to say that they went to the Delhi Darbar or the King's Darbar. The Emperor's Darbar is said to be at the place wherever he be for the time being, just as we now speak of the Bombay Government to be at Bombay Poona or Mahabaleshwar, wherever the Governor in Council may be for the time being.

The following table gives the dates of the different events referred to in the Farman

Events	Ilahi date of the 13th year of Jehangir's reign i.e. 1027 Hijri 1618 A.D.	Hijri date	Christian date
1. Jehangir's arrival at Ahmedabad.	Roz 7th Amerdad, mah 2nd Ardebahesht		
2. The Mulla's interview with Jehangir	Roz 2 Bahman, mah 6 Shehrivar		15th Aug 1618
3. The date on which the Farman for the grant of 100 bigahs was given by Jehangir	Roz 11 Khorshed mah 6 Shehrivar		24th Aug 1618

¹ Tuzuk, Vol II pp 63-66

² Ibid p 84

4 The date on which the farmān was noted in the Records of the Chowki, the Res. lēh Waqiah etc	Roz 13 Tir, mah 9 Adar	Wednes day, the 16th Zil Hajja 1027	24th Nov 1618
The date of noting the farmān in the records of Sauid Mir Mahomed	Roz 13 Rasha mah 12 Asfandarmad	21 Rabi ul Auwal 1028	Fri day 27th Feb 1619

Now, a question may arise, why Jehangir should have presented to the two Parsees Rs 100 and 100 bagahs of land for four goblets (fulh) of the *atar* (*star*). Of course, we know, that often much depends, upon the whims or fancies of kings. They may pay fancy prices for insignificant things or niggardly miserable prices for rare costly things. But in this case, I think, there were special reasons why the King should be very favourable towards the Parsee. The reasons seem to be the following —

- (a) The fact of Jehangir's personal appreciation for perfumes
- (b) The fact of the perfume coming from the hands of persons at Naosari, which was much famed for its perfumes
- (c) The fact that the two Parsees belonged to the priestly class and were men of some position

I will speak of these three points in order

Firstly we learn from Jehangir's Tuzuk, that he greatly appreciated fragrant oils and at one time

(a) Jehangir's appreciation of *atar*. Another example of a present in appreciation.

he rewarded his own mother in law for discovering fragrant otto of roses. He describes that event in the account of the 9th year of his reign. Once he had very large pomegranates brought by merchants from Yazd and melons brought from Kānz. They were so extraordinarily good in comparison with those he usually had—pomegranates from Kabul and melons from Badakhshan—that he thought as if he “had never had a pomegranate or a melon before. He then regretted that his revered father Akbar, who was fond of fruits had not the opportunity of enjoying such good fruits in his time. The fruits reminded him of the *atar* of roses, and he similarly regretted that his father

had not also the advantage of enjoying the most fragrant oil discovered in his time. He then thus describes the discovery and the reward that he gave for it: "I have the same regret for the Jahāngiri 'itr' (so called otto of roses), that his nostrils were not gratified with such essences. This 'itr' is a discovery which was made during my reign through the efforts of the mother of Nūr Jehān Begam. When she was making rose water, a seum formed on the surface of the dishes into which the hot rose water was poured from the jugs. She collected the seum little by little, when much rose water was obtained a sensible portion of the seum was collected. It is of such strength in perfume that if one drop be rubbed on the palm of the hand, it scents a whole assembly, and it appears as if many red rose buds had bloomed at once. There is no other scent of equal excellence to it. It restores hearts that have gone and brings back withered souls. In reward for that invention, I presented a string of pearls to the inventress. Salim Sultān Begam (may the lights of God be on her tomb) was present, and she gave this oil the name of 'itr-i-Jehangiri'."

Another reason, why Jehangir should have so generously rewarded the two Parsees for presenting the perfume, seems to be, that they were from Naosari, and so, the perfume must have been the product of that town which was well known for its excellent perfumery. In a reference to Naosari, in the *Āin-i-Akbari*, we read Abul Fazl saying that "they manufacture fragrant perfumes there, the like of which is produced nowhere else."

روغن خوشبو آبکا مار که در دمع حا شود

Jehangir may have perhaps presented Mulla Jamasp and Mulla Hoshang with cash in addition to land because they belonged to the priestly class of a community for whose ancient ancestry and religion his father had a great regard. We find some cases of such double presentation in Jehangir's *Tuzuk*. For example, he presented Maulānā Muhammad Amin, a faqir with 1,000 bighas of land and 1,000 rupees in cash.³

¹ The *Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri* by Rogers Beveridge I pp 276-277

² Blochmann's Text, Vol I p 498 column 1 l 13. Col Jarrett's Translation Vol II p 20. From my casual visits of Naosari I think that the people of Naosari even now are very fond of flowers and that the soil of the town produces fragrant flowers. While passing through its Bazar (chowki) one sees that compared to the population of the town there is a very large number of flower-shops which reveal their presence to the passers by by the fragrance of the flowers. Mr Farā of Naosari has won many prizes for perfumery in several Indian Exhibitions.

³ *Tuzuk* Rogers Beveridge I p 130

VII

THE PLACE AND SITUATION OF THE LAND GIVEN TO THE MULLAS

Now, let us examine, in what part of the Naosari district was the land granted to the two Parsis situated. We saw, that the *farman* speaks of *chal bastan* ¹ i.e., of settling the boundaries of the land given by the Emperor. It seems that the rule of the Mogul Emperors was that the donee went with the *farman* given by the Emperor to the particular district named in the *farman* and presented it to the governor or other officers of the district. They then gave the proposed area of available land in their district. The officers, selecting the land described it in what is called a *chak nameh*. All the land granted by the Emperor cannot always be available in one place. So they described in the *chak nameh* where the different pieces of land which made up the area granted were situated and what the boundaries of the pieces were. In the case of the *farman* in favour of the two Parsis we have a *chak nameh* of this kind in the hands of the Dordi family a branch of one of the original donees. It is dated 1031 Hijri. So it took about four years after the date of the *farman* for the authorities of the Surat Sarkar to find out the land for the Parsis and settle its details.

I beg to give the text and translation of the *chak nameh* which I think will be found very interesting as it gives one an idea of the old way of describing the boundaries which was not much different from our present method. It is also interesting from another point of view viz. that the Revenue Officers of the Moguls had in spite of the comparative richness of the Persian language to use many Gujarati words in describing the boundaries. I am supplied with the original *chak nameh* a subsequent copy, and an old Gujarati translation of it. I am surprised to find that the copy differs from the original in an important part of it, viz. the details of the boundaries. The text of the preliminary portion which relates what the document is is well nigh the same with the difference of a word here and there. I think, the copyist had before him also the original *farman*. So, when copying the *chak nameh* he put in some additional words, which he found in the *farman* itself but which were not put in the *chak nameh*, perhaps because they were thought not very

¹ I have explained the word *chal* above. The word has several cognate meanings. One of its meanings is "the written and signed sentence of a judge or magistrate." The Indian words *chakādo* (चक्रादो) for "decision" and *chakavvu* (चक्रवु) for "to settle to pay off" are connected with this word. It also means "title-deeds bonds notes etc." In the matter of land, the technical word which goes with it as a verb is "*bastan*" i.e. "to bind." So *chal bastan* means "to draw out the boundaries of the land and give its description in detail." The document that does this, is spoken of as *chal nāmā*.

important. As to the difference in the description of the details, they are not very important, but the copyist perhaps was asked to give what was subsequently thought to be a more exact description of the boundaries of the different pieces.

The copy bears a name, perhaps of its owner, in Gujarati as બી પી ડોર્ડી, i.e., B. P. Dordi. It bears on the left hand corner of the top some words which look like قرآن شریف, Qur'ân Sharîf, i.e., the holy Qur'ân. It omits the word *chak nâmeh* given at the top of the original *chak nâmeh*. The Gujarati translation has followed not the original *chak nâmeh*, but the copy.

Before giving the text and the translation, I will describe the process of the description of the boundaries, so that the reader may easily follow the contents of the *chak nâmeh*.

It was generally the practice of the Mogul times that when land was granted as a favour, one fourth of it formed good ground which was already cultivated, and three fourths uncultivated land, which is technically spoken of in the document as *ustadeh* *usadâ* i.e. "fallen," the corresponding Gujarati word for which, as used even now, is *padal* (પડા), i.e., land that had fallen or remained uncultivated. According to the above division, the details of the land as given in the *chak nâmeh*, are divided into two parts. Firstly, the details of the one fourth cultivated land (*zanun mazrua*) are given and then those of the uncultivated or fallen land. The cultivated land was not in one contiguous plot. Some of it was in a place known as the garden (*bagh*) of Bâuji, which as the *chak nâmeh* is not written all along with proper dots (*nukteh*) on the letters, may be read variously. The name may be read as Makuji or Nalaji or so several other ways. But I read it as Bâuji, because in the old Gujarati translation it is so read. So, it is possible, that the old translation perhaps gave the name as it had come down to the times of the translator from one lip to another. Again the name Bâuji is even now heard at Naosari as the name of some persons. For example, there was upto a few years ago, a known learned Parsee Desai, known as Bawâbhâi Desai. The rest of the cultivated land, was in the garden of Ratoâgar. This word also can be read variously. But there is no doubt about its reading, because the name still continues as Ratan wâdi or Ratnâgar wadi. It is situated on our way to Kâchiwady on the bank of the Purnâ river at Naosari. I had the pleasure of going to this part of Naosari several times in some of my morning walks during my occasional visits to Naosari.

The boundaries of these two pieces in the above two *bāghs* or gardens are described in two rows in the document, the Bāwji's garden land on the right hand and the Ratnagar land on the left. The order followed in the description of the boundaries is East, West, South and North.

The uncultivated (*uṣṭādeh*) land consisted of seven different pieces as follows —

- 1 In the land known as that of the garden of Ratnagar
- 2 In *Pādar* : reh : e the *pādar* of the road¹
- 3 The piece of land in Tigreh² on the bank of the river (*nadi*)
- 4 Another piece of land at Tigreh
- 5 A piece of land named as Golch گولچ

From the details of the boundary of this piece, it seems that it was near Tigreh

- 6 A piece of land known as Lok. It was near Tigreh
- 7 A piece of land at Italweh³

The above nine pieces—two of good cultivated land and seven of uncultivated (*uṣṭādeh* ۷۵۹) land—made up the 100 *bighas* as follows —

The garden of Bāwji had 22½ *bighas*

The Ratnagar garden had 2½ *bighas*

These two made up the one fourth good cultivated land measuring 25 *bighas*

¹ The word is used even now at Naosari and in other villages of Gujarat as ગામની પાદરે *gam ni padarē* i.e. on the outskirts of the village or town. We do not find this word in Persian dictionaries, but it may be *pādar* پا دَر the foot in. We have the phrase پا در ک (it foot in the stirrup) used when one is just about to ride. So in connection with towns or villages, the words *pādar* may mean ground just on the border of the town whence you step into the town. Here, ۱) *pādar* : reh : e meant, perhaps, the land just on the road.

² There is even now a village of the name of Tigrah about two miles from Naosari and about a mile on the south-east of the Mehta Parsee Lying-in Hospital. A road from the south of the jail, leads to it (cfr. my paper on the poet Bhagō Bhagat in my Dnyān Prasarak Essays Part IV). A large tract of land over and above the present village then bore the name of Tigreh.

³ Italwun is a village about 3 to 4 miles from Naosari. At present the main road to Gandevi from Naosari passes through this village. It is larger than Tigreh.

Then the above seven pieces contained 75 *bigāhs* as follows —

- 1 16½ A plot of ground in the land known as Ratnāgar
bāg
- 2 2½ A plot on the *pādar* of the road
- 3 2½ A plot at Tigreh on the bank of the *nadī* (river)
- 4 7½ Another plot of Tigreh
- 5 7 Plot known as Goleh
- 6 27½ Plot known as Lohi
- 7 12½ Plot at Itālweh

Total 75

Now, I give the text of the *chak nāmeh*. It is difficult to decipher correctly all the words, especially the proper names of the places, as the usual dots or *nukteh*s are not generally given. So, in reading these and the figures about the *bigāhs* I am helped by the Gujarati translation. There is also a copy of this *chak nāmeh* on very thin paper in two leaves. In rare cases, this copy helps us to determine a word here and there. The second leaf of this copy contains the boundaries of the last few pieces.

(The Text of the *Chak nāmeh*)

الله اکبر

رحمیں مدد معاش : مولا حامد اسپر مولا خوشگ نارسی نامور داس
3 بموجب فرمان عالیشان و احسان الادعای خہانگیری و پروانچہ خواب
4 مستطاب حملت الملکی 5 اعتماد الدولہ 6 و نواب 7 و رارت پناہ
سیفخان

1 This form of invocation to God introduced by Akbar over which there was a good deal of discussion among his courtiers (*vide* above) is written in different styles or shapes. In this *chak nāmeh* it is written as above. In the *farman* itself it is written in another shape.

2 The word *Mulla* as written here varies from what is written in the *farman* itself where it is written *ملا* *malla* which means a schoolmaster a doctor a learned man a judge a priest (Steingass). When written *مولا* *Mulla* as written in this *chak nāmeh* it means, a lord master, a judge magistrate of a city the supreme Lord God a slave servant a freedman (*Ibid*). In the copy of this *chak nāmeh* it is written *Mulla* as in the *farman* itself. I think that the form as given in the original *farman* and correctly written in the copy of the *chak nāmeh* is the proper form. So I have followed it in my translation. The copy omits this word before the name of Hoshang.

3 In the copy, of the *chak nāmeh* the word is *موانق*.

4 *Mustafāh*, gracious.

5 In the copy we have an additional word before this viz *مدار لہامی* viz the centre of affairs.

6 In the copy we find these additional words after this word

و مدارت پناہ سیادت مامہ میرسد احمد قادری

viz the protector of the ministry, the wealth of Dominion Mir Saiyid Ahmad Qutlari.

7 *Wazarat* the dignity of the Minister.

(2) وضع باغ روناگر
 شرقی - متصل کناری چاند حدو¹ پندل
 عربی - متصل دراع بهمن² حدو ولد بهرام
 جنوبی - دانهره ملک³ يوسف
 شمالی - چاه چاند حدو پندل⁴

(Now follow the description of the seven pieces *qataa's* of the uncultivated ground It runs as follows —)

(1) زمین افتاده لا ق دراع
 قطع روناگر⁵
 شرقی - متصل کناری چاند حدو پندل
 عربی - متصل دراع بهمن حدو ولد بهرام⁶
 جنوبی - متصل دانهره⁷ نه
 شمالی - متصل چاه چاند حدو پندل
 (2) قطع بادر⁸
 شرقی - متصل سر⁹ عام
 عربی - متصل دلا ندی¹⁰ کرمد

1 The name as ordinary is spoken is چاند حى Chandji and not Chandji. The copy gives it as such

2 Bahmanji son of Behram The copy gives the name as بهرام اندھارو Behram Andhāro (બેહરામ અંધારો) i.e. Behram, the pre-est

3 The copy gives this boundary as شارع عام i.e. public road. The Malik Insur named here is one of the signatories of the document as will be seen below

4 The copy gives this boundary as منوچهر باغ کلاں i.e. the la ga garden of Minochehar. The illegible word before Minochehar may be De al or Adhara

5 The copy gives قطع در باغ روناگر

6 The copy gives as boundary simply the word الم i.e. a steam. The copy all along omits the first word *muffasid* i.e. ad o ning

7 The copy adds the name of the person to whom the *dābha* *ah* belonged and says دانهره باغ ملک يوسف i.e. the *dābha* *ah* of the garden of Malik Yusuf. *Dābha* *ah* is the local Gujarati word for the ground where nothing useful grows but only rank grass of the lowest kind

8 The copy has عرابه و بهاد i.e. the road of carriage and ox. The word *ballad* for ox is Gujarati (બલડ)

9 A Gujaraticised form (તલાવડી) from Pers تالاب this pond

10 This seems to be the name of the pond. Or perhaps it may be a word for the Kara madi (કરમડી) berries. The copy has instead of the name دلا ندی i.e. the mouth of the small pond (તલાવડી)

جنوبی۔ متصل درختہا کہ پوری صرحی مانکا¹
 شمالی۔ متصل چاہ² و چہر بہن حد
 (3) قطع ٹنگرہ کہ لب آب ندی
 شرقی۔ متصل رراعت بہن حیو⁴
 عربی۔ متصل چاہ و باغ لہمو بہن حیو⁵
 جنوبی۔ متصل کہاری ٹنگرہ⁶
 شمالی۔ متصل رراعت برسنگ مہرختو⁷
 4 قطع ٹنگرہ مہرخت شرح
 شرقی۔ متصل رراعت برسنگ مہرختی⁸
 عربی۔ متصل درخت آہ بہن حیو⁹
 جنوبی۔ متصل باغ لہمو بہن حیو¹⁰
 شمالی۔ متصل کہاری ٹنگرہ
 5 قطع گولہ

شرعی۔ متصل عدس اقبالو کہ بعد سے درخت حرما ہندی است
 عربی۔ متصل رمن کولی و چاہ گولہ
 جنوبی۔ متصل کہاری ٹنگرہ
 شمالی۔ متصل کہاری موضع¹¹ اسولی میں عمال پرگنہ تھلا ری

¹ The copy gives the boundary of the south as **ادہارو بہرام** (i.e., the hut (Gujarati ૬૭૧૪૩) of Behram, the priest, and that of the north, as **اسدجار کہ پوری** i.e. the tree of the date palm (૫૭૧૪૩) of Somji Mankh. The Gujarati rendering gives the name as **સોમજી માંકા**. The boundaries differ but the text of this copy and the Gujarati rendering help us to read the proper name as Somji Mankh.

² Gujarati ૬૭૧૪ or ૬૭૧૪૩

³ The copy has instead of **کہ** the word **بار** for i.e., the edge

⁴ The copy has this boundary as **ادہارو بہرام** (i.e., the field of Behram Adharu near the water of the river. The original gives the name of the owner as Bahmanji (Bahmanji), who as seen above was the son of Behramjee

⁵ The copy has **باغ لہمو بہرام** i.e. the garden of lemon (Lahma) of Behramjee.

⁶ The copy gives this boundary **درخت کتب و رراعت** i.e., the trees, field and cultivation

⁷ The copy is torn off at this position

⁸ It may be read simply as **برجی** Birji

⁹ The name Bahmanji (e) is quite clear in the original, but the copy in its bad shikasta style gives a form, which can be read both as Bahmanji or Kabmūhi. So, the Gujarati rendering has given the boundary as **કામ્મુહી** (i.e., the garden of lemon). This is evidently a mistake

¹⁰ The copy gives the name as **ادہارو بہرام** and the boundaries are inter-
 (i.e., what is the southern in the one is the northern in the other and vice versa.

¹¹ I am guided in reading this name by the Gujarati version, which gives the name as **સોમજી**

6 قطع لوکی

شرقی — متصل حاء کولہ

عربی — متصل رعدن کامدن طیب

حدوبی — متصل تذکرہ

شمالی — کہاری موضع رسولی

7 قطع اندالوہ

شرقی — متصل رعدن کہارہ

عربی — متصل حد کولہ

حدوبی — متصل کہاری تذکرہ و کہربالہ

شمالی — متصل رعدن کہاسہ

قطعات محدودہ موصوفہ مذکورہ را با حملگی حدود چک بندی

کردہ دادہ شد اس چند کلمہ چکنامہ بر منسلک حجت نوشتہ داد کہ عدالت

حاجت حجت باشد تذکرہ ۱ شہر حماد الثانی سنہ ۳۳

شامہ ایمانہ شیعہ جنو ولد شیعہ احمد

گواہ شد ملک بوسف ولد ملک حبیب

۱ ہریساہیہ پترہا ۲

۱ بوبہرشوہ ۳ کساہی ساہی لہیا پرمالہ

۱ بوبہن جیہیرام ساہی کراسی مک پرمالہ

۱ ماہیہ ریاہیریہا ساہی

۱ ماہیہ آراہین ساہی

۱ ماہیہ ناہیہ ساہی لہیا پرمالہ

۱ سوبہرشوہ جیہیرام مہیہ

۱ گوبالہ ریاہیہا ساہی لہیا پرمالہ

۱ لہام شوبہرشوہ ساہی ۱۰۳۱ ۲۲

۱ مہیہنوارا کرسنہ ساہی

۱ سہ سوبہرشوہ کاسا ساہی

۱ داہیہ ماہیہ ساہی

۱ نارایہیہ کویہا ساہی

۱ گا ۳ رستام مہیہ ساہی

۱ مہیہنوارا کرسنہ ساہی ۲۲ مہیہ پرمالہ ریاہیہ

شامہ ایمانہ شیعہ محمود اس شیعہ منصور

شہد ہامہ خان محمد ولد عبدالکریم انصاری

۱ ماہیہ lit that which (ma) is in (fi) With the preceding word this means "witness to the contents (of this document) ۲ Doubtful this signature is not clear

۳ The copy gives this name as بوبہرشوہ

۴ The copy gives only seven names of the witnesses One of these is گا (Gard) رستام مہیہ ساہی This shows that the گا is the original is an abbreviated form of گا (Gard) We know that there is a well known family at Nosari known as the Gard family So, possibly this signatory was an ancestor of this family The copy gives among the seven one name as پشیتانراہیہ ساہی ۵۵. Peshitan Rana but this name is not in the original There is a letter before the word پشیتان in the copy which is not legible It may be مہیہ for Ervad

(TRANSLATION OF THE CHAK NÂMEH)

GOD IS GREAT

CHAK NÂMEH

'The Chak nâmeḥ for the land (given) for the help of the livelihood of Mullâ Jamasp and Mullâ Hoḥang, Parsee, with their children Whereas, according to the respected and worthy to be obeyed Jehangîrî Farmân, and (according to) the Parwancheh of the gracious Nawab, the leader of the country,¹ the snp porter of the state,² and of the Nawab, the protector of the Wazârat, Sîfkhân, and (according to) the³ register with the seal of Mirzâ Mahmâd Qasim, about 100 bigahs of land have been measured with the *ilâhî gaz*, according to the usual practice, viz: one part of the cultivated land of ryots⁴ and three parts of the⁵ uncultivated (land) fit for cultivation, from the rural district of the town of Naosari, in the Sarkâr of Surat, in the *fasal* of Kharîf . . . Tunguz El⁶ (month) year 1031, (and Whereas) the customary servants of the rule of Mirza Muzaḥḥar Hasin and Khwaja⁷ Lâlchand Dîwân and the Desahis and the revenue-officers⁸ and the ryots and the cultivators have, on date 8th Jamâd ul sâni 1033, measured in details as given below and settled the limits (chak), separated the four boundaries and prepared assignments, (the land) has been entrusted to the above said persons, so that no body else may enter into the land and be troublesome, so that the above said persons having the land in their own charge and possession, may, with peace of mind, spending the income of the said land, remain engaged in saying prayers for the perpetual good fortune of His Majesty for the perpetuity of his long rule

100 bigahs of land (measured) by Ilâhî gaz

I Cultivated land tilled by ryots. Bigah 25

Two pieces

I The piece (in the garden of) Bâuji. 23½

EAST—Adjoining and the field of Kâmdîn .

WEST—Adjoining the *kari*⁹ of Behramji

SOUTH—Adjoining the *lâḥyan*¹⁰ and *lâḥn*¹¹

1 This and the next words are titles Lit. the sum total of the country

2 Lit. Support of State

3 Ta'tîqa a schedule a register

4 Kalyat, ryot tenant of the soil

5 Lit. fallen ۴۳۴۴ or ۴۳۴

6 Vide above, the footnote in the Text.

7 This an honorific title

8 Muqaddam a superior officer of the revenue in a village (i. Gujarati મુકદ્દમ)

9 કેવળી = A rice field surrounded with and confined by ridges or embankments bed of garden watered and planted with flowers."

10 Khanjar a small ditch (۴۱۴۱ ۴۱۴۲)

11 Perhaps from Gujarati લાહન.

NORTH—Adjoining public road and a salt ditch (*Khārio* ખારીઓ).

The piece of the Ratnāgar Garden Bigahs 2½

EAST.—Adjoining the *lādrā* of Chāndjī Patel.

WEST—Adjoining the field of Bahmanjī, son of Behram

SOUTH—Adjoining the Dābhariyeh of Malik Yusuf

NORTH—The well of Chandjī(v) Patel

II The uncultivated land fit for cultivation 75

1 The piece of the Ratnāgar (Garden) 16½

EAST.—Adjoining the *Kiars* of Chāndjī Patel

WEST—Adjoining the field of Bahmanjī the son of Behrām;

SOUTH—Adjoining the Dabharīyeh

NORTH—Adjoining the well of Chandjī Patel

2. The piece on the outskirts² of the road Bigahs 2½

EAST—Adjoining the public road

WEST—Adjoining the small³ pond of *karamādd*

SOUTH—Adjoining the dato⁴ trees of Somjī Mānkā

NORTH—Adjoining the well and the hut⁵ of Bahmanjī

3. The piece of land at Tigrāh on the edge of the water of the river.⁶ 2½

EAST—Adjoining the cultivation of Bahmanjī

WEST—Adjoining the well and the lemon garden⁷ of Bahmanjī

SOUTH—Adjoining the Khāri of Tigrāh⁸

NORTH—Adjoining the field of Narsang Meherjī

4 (Another) piece at Tigrāh according to the sharh 7½

EAST—Adjoining the field of Narsang Meherjī

WEST—Adjoining the mangoe trees of Bahmanjī

1 A place wherein grows *dābhāo* દાભડો a kind of rough grass. It is spoken of as “દાભડયુ” *dābhadīyū* just as a place where grass (ખાસ) grows is called *ધાસયુ* (*ghasyū*). Mr Sorabji Mancherji Desai of Naosari informs me in reply to my inquiry, that there still exists a *varifāh* at Kachhiwadi (કાઠયાવાડી) which is known as *dābhāriyūn* (દાભયુ). It is about 23 bigahs in area and is the property of Mr Fardunji Desai. It is the *dābhāriyeh* referred to in this document.

² *Pādar*. The word seems to mean *lit.* the foot in *v.* the place, whence the next step leads you to a place. For example we speak of the *pādar* of a village (ગામનું પાદર), *v.* the place whence the next step takes you to the village itself.

³ *Talavri*, a Gujarati word for a small pond

⁴ *Khajuri*, a Gujarati word for date tree

⁵ *Chāpreh*, a Gujarati word for a hut

⁶ *Nadi*, Gujarati word for a river

⁷ *Lehmun*, Lemon લેમુ

⁸ For the village of Tigrāh vide an account of my visit of it in my paper on “કાઠીઆવાડના કબી ભાંગે ભગત નાસારીની પડોશના તીથા ગામમાં સાબજેલી તેની દત્ત કથા” જ્ઞાનપ્રસારક વિષયો ભાગ ૪ (Dayān Prasarak Essays Part IV, p 142)

(TRANSLATION OF THE CHAK NÂMEH)

GOD IS GREAT

CHAK NÂMEH

'The Chak nâmeḥ for the land (given) for the help of the livelihood of Mullâ Jamasp and Mullâ Hoshang, Parsee, with their children Whereas, according to the respected and worthy to be obeyed Jehangîr Farmân and (according to) the Parwancheh of the gracious Nawab, the leader of the country,¹ the supporter of the state,² and of the Nawâh, the protector of the Wazârat, Sifkhân, and (according to) the³ register with the seal of Mirzâ Mahmâd Qasim, about 100 bigahs of land have been measured with the *ilahî gaz*, according to the usual practice viz: one part of the cultivated land of ryots⁴ and three parts of the⁵ uncultivated (land) fit for cultivation from the rural district of the town of Naosari, in the Sarkâr of Surat, in the *fasal* of Kharif Tunguz El⁶ (month) year 1031, (and Whereas) the customary servants of the rule of Mirzâ Muzaffar Hasin and Khwâja⁷ Lâlchand Diwân and the Desâhis and the revenue-officers⁸ and the ryots and the cultivators have, on date 8th Jamâd ul sânî 1033, measured in details as given below and settled the limits (chak) separated the four boundaries and prepared assignments, (the land) has been entrusted to the above said persons, so that no body else may enter into the land and be troublesome, so that the above said persons having the land in their own charge and possession, may, with peace of mind, spending the income of the said land, remain engaged in saying prayers for the perpetual good fortune of His Majesty for the perpetuity of his long rule

100 bigahs of land (measured) by Ilahî gaz

I Cultivated land tilled by ryots Bigah 25

Two pieces

1 The piece (in the garden of) Baujî 23½

EAST—Adjoining and the field of Hâmân

WEST—Adjoining the *kârî*⁹ of Behramjî

SOUTH—Adjoining the *lâḥjan*¹⁰ and *lâhar*¹¹

1 This and the next words are titles. Lit. the sum total of the country 1

2 Lit. Support of State

3 Ta'liqa a schedule, a register

4 Balyat, ryot tenant of the soil

5 Lit. fallen ૫૩૮૧ or ૫૩૮

6 Vide above, the footnote in the Text.

7 It is an honorific title

8 Muqaddam a superior officer of the revenue in a village (f. Gujarati મુકદ્દમ)

9 કેવળી A rice field surrounded with and confined by ridges or embankments bed of garden watered and planted with flowers."

10 Khanjar a small ditch (૫૪૧ ૫૪૨)

11 Perhaps from Gujarati લાહડા

Witness to the contents Shaikhji son of Shaikh Ahmad,
 Witness Malik Yusuf, son of Malik Habib

1. Hari Witness according to the schedule ¹

1 Bhodhar Suj Kalyân Witness according to what is written (above)

1 Bahman Behrâm Witness according to the *chak* in Persian

1 Chândji Sheheryâr Witness

1. Chândji Âshdîn Witness

1. Manock Nagoj Witness according to what is written

1 Sohrab Behram Witness

1 Gopal Syâmdas Witness according to what is written.

1. Writer. Mathuran Rai Witness 1031 ²

1. Mehernosh Ferdunji Witness.

1 Sohrâb Kakâ. Witness

1. Dâji Mankâ. Witness

1 Nârâyan Kinda Lâ Witness

1 Ga Rustom Mehrji Witness

(the signatories on the right hand margin are)

1. Mehernosh Kekkâd Deshai. This *chaknameh* is correct according to the writing. Witness to the contents Shaikh Mahamud son of Shaikh Manjur Witness to the contents Khân Mahamud son of Ahd ul-Karim Ansaryi "

In all, there are 19 signatures of which four are in Persian characters and 15 in Gujarati. Of the 19 signatories, four are Mahomedans, 6 are Hindus and 9 Parsees. The Hindu and Parsee signatures are all preceded by the Gujarati numeral figure for one. This seems to be the general custom in Gujarati, to affirm perhaps, that what they state is truth and truth alone, as enjoined by God who is one.

Some of the signatories seem to be respectable known citizens of Naosari at that time. We have authority to say so, at least for the Parsees. The first Parsee signatory Bahman Behram was Bahmanji Behramji Desai who died in 1655 A.D.³ He had acquired great influence at the Mogul Court and held large jagirs. He was the son of a well known Desai, Desai Behram Faredun.⁴

Sohrab Kaka was one of the signatories of a document dated roz 5, mah 1, year 1053 Yazdazardi (1683 A.D.) wherein the laymen of Naosari agree among themselves that they may engage any priests they like for the religious services in their families, and not necessarily those who come to office in turn according to their sacerdotal arrangement.⁵

¹ Doubtful. The last part may be read ૧૯૧૧. Here the word *pat* may be Gujarati ૧૯ meaning a schedule list.

² Parsee Prakash I, p. 14

³ Ibid p. 111

⁴ Ibid p. 814.

SOUTH —Adjoining the lemon garden of Bahmanj

NORTH —Adjoining the Khârî of Tigrâh

5 The piece of Goleh 7

EAST —Adjoining the land of Itâlweh which is within the limit of the three trees of Indian dates

WEST —Adjoining the land of the Koh¹ and the well of the Guleh

SOUTH —Adjoining the Khârî of Tigrâh

NORTH —Adjoining the Khârî of the village of Basolî from the rule (amâl pl. of 'amâl,' tracts rule country) of the parganah of Tilârî

6 The piece Lohî 27½

EAST —Adjoining the well of the Koh¹

WEST —Adjoining the land of Kâmdîn, the physician²

SOUTH —Adjoining Tigrâh

NORTH —Adjoining the Khârî of the village of Basolî

7. The piece at Itâlweh

EAST —Adjoining the land of the Khârîyeh

WEST —Adjoining the limit of the Kuleh

SOUTH —Adjoining the Khârî of Tigrâh and Kahr . leh³

NORTH —Adjoining the land . 4

(Then follow as mentioned below the signatures of some well known men of the town, certifying, that, as said above, the boundaries have been settled. The first two signatures are in Persian characters and the rest in Gujarati. They put down their signatures under the following statement)

The above mentioned described pieces according to their boundaries are given after being all entered into *chal band*: These few words of the Chaknameh are written and given by way of proof so that in case of necessity in court, they may serve as a proof. Written on 9th of the month Jumâdu l sanî year 1033⁵

¹ The Kohs form a caste in Gujarat.

² After this paper was read and by the time it passes through the Press, Prof. S. H. Hodiva, a Principal and Professor of History at Behaeddin College has published an excellent book entitled "Studies in Farî History" wherein (pp. 1421-88) he speaks of a Farî physician Meher Vaid (born about 1520 A. C.) whose ancestors and descendants practised medicine at Naosari. One of the descendants was Qâm Talib. A document belonging to his property has a date of about 1035 A. H. (1626 A. C.) I think that the Kâmdîn Talib of our document of about 1623-24 A. C., is the Qâm Talib of the above document. We know that the name Kâmdîn is a form of Qâmû d-dîn.

³ The letters of the word have no nukteh. So it is difficult to read them. They seem to form the name of a place. The word may be gadher ba-naleh, i.e., the cart road in the water course (گدھر با نالہ) or it may be gahr-naleh, i.e., a covered outlet for water (گھر نالہ)

⁴ I do not understand the word. If we take it, that a stroke over the first letter has been omitted by mistake by the writer it may be gâhlyeh (گاہلیہ), i.e., a place where only grass grows.

⁵ 1033 A. D. 1623-24

Witness to the contents Shaikhji son of Shaikh Ahmad,
 Witness Malik Yusuf, son of Malik Habib

1. Hari Witness according to the schedule ¹

1 Bhodhar Suj Kalyân Witness according to what
 is written (above)

1 Bahman Behrâm Witness according to the *chak*
 in Persian

1 Chândji Sheheryâr. Witness

1 Chândji Âshdîn Witness.

1. Manock Nagoj Witness according to what is written

1. Sohrah Behram Witness

1 Gopal Syâmdas Witness according to what is written

1. Writer, Mathuran Rai Witness 1031 ?

1. Mehernosh Ferdunji Witness

1 Sohrah Kakâ Witness

1. Dâji Mankâ. Witness

1 Narâyan Kînda La Witness.

1. Ga Rustom Mehîrji Witness

(the signatories on the right hand margin are)

1 Mehernosh Kekkâd Deshai This *chaknamch* is cor-
 rect according to the writing. Witness to the contents Shaikh
 Mahamud son of Shaikh Mansur Witness to the contents Khân
 Mahamud son of Abd ul Karim Ansfari "

In all, there are 19 signatures of which four are in Persian
 characters and 15 in Gujarati. Of the 19 signatories, four are Ma-
 homedans, 6 are Hindus and 9 Parsees. The Hindu and Parsee
 signatures are all preceded by the Gujarati numeral figure
 for one. This seems to be the general custom in Gujarati,
 to affirm perhaps, that what they state is truth and truth alone,
 as enjoined by God who is one.

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 Behram was Bahmanji Behramji Desai who died in 1655
 A.D.² He had acquired great influence at the Mogul Court
 and held large jagîrs. He was the son of a well known
 Desai, Desai Behram Faredun.³

Sohrah Kaka was one of the signatories of a document
 dated roz 5, mah 1, year 1033 Yazdazardi (1693 A.D.)
 wherein the laymen of Naosari agree among themselves that
 they may engage any priests they like for the religious services
 in their families, and not necessarily those who come to office
 in turn according to their sacerdotal arrangement.⁴

¹ Doubtful. The last part may be read ૫૯૪૫૧. Here the word *pat* may be
 Gujarati ૫૯ meaning a schedule list.

² Parsee Prakāśh I, p. 14.

³ *Ibid* p. 111.

⁴ *Ibid* p. 244.

As to the last signatory, who signs as Ga Rustam Mehri, we saw above, that the word Ga (گا) seems to be an abbreviation for Garda. The Garda family is a well known family of Naosari at present. Now there remain the seals on the Chak nameh to be deciphered.

The first topmost seal reads *حادم شرح رسول الله عبدالحسن* e, Abdulhusan Fazulalla, the servant of the orders of the Prophet.

On the next seal the first topmost word is not clear. The next word gives the name *سید حسن مظفر ۱۰۳۱* e, Sayid Husin Muzaffar 1031. This and the next seals above them bear the words *نقل کرتے شد* e, the copy is taken. So these are the seals of Government officers.

The third seal reads *العه لعل چند اسی اور چند* e servant Lâlchand the son of² Aurchand.

The fourth seal is not clear. Some words seem to read *الواف بصون ماسطراک العباد نصر محمد* Alla Nasir. We read the name Nasir in the writing on its left. It is *الواف بصون ماسطراک العباد نصر محمد* e, informed according to the purport of these lines. The humblest of servants,³ Nasir Mahmad.

VIII

APPENDIX.

As an appendix to the paper, I give the text and translation of some old documents, referring, not to the whole land, but to 18 highas, which, latterly, came to the share of Meher nosh, the third in descent from Mulla Jamasp. The documents are of some antiquarian interest, as they show some old methods of describing boundaries, proving one's rights over any land, passing receipts etc. and as giving some idea of other cognate matters.

We learnt from the Farman, that 100 Bighas of land were presented jointly to Mulla Jamasp and his nephew Mulla Hoshang. So, possibly they themselves, latterly in their life time, or their heirs after their death, divided the land and each or the descendants of each, got 50 Bighas. It appears from a Chak nameh in the name of Mehernosh the third in descent from Mulla Jamasp that, after some divisions, there came to his share about 18 Bighas of land. I give below the chak nameh of this share of the land.

1 The reading of the last part of the name is doubtful. The last word of the seal also is not legible.

2 The first part of the name is not clear.

3 Aqall (i.e. the least of) *نادر* (a servant).

First Document Chak nameh of 18 Bighas of land that came to the share of Mehernoush

آلہی
(1)

چکنامہ ۳ مدد معاش مہرپوش ار نورددان ۴ ملا ۵ حاماس
فارسی نا نورددان بموجب فرمان عالیشان واجب الاداعہ ۶ و
پروانہ ۷ ۸ عقراں پناہ نواب مستطاب ۹ حملات الملکی ۱۰ اعتماد
الدولت و نواب وزارت پناہ سیفکساں ۱۱ مرحوم مواری ہر دہ بندہ
رمیں بگز ۱۲ ۱۳ ار حملہ ۱۳ اندر ملا حاماس مذکور تر طبق قسمت
نامہ مہرپوش مسطور موافق مانتہ بکھنہ شروع رعنتی و سہ حصہ
افتادہ خارج ۱۴ جمع لائق رعایت معہ ۱۵ اشجار ار سواد قصہ دوساری
سرکار سورت ۱۶ مصاف تصویر احمدآباد در بصل حریف تھا دوی دل

1 This word stands for آلہی. I am told, that even now, Mahomedans write this form on the top of their letter

2 In the original the first four letters چکنا of the word form the first line running over well nigh the whole breadth of the paper and the last two letters مہ appear as if they were joined with the letters حب of the word واجب in the next line

3 The word رمیں which occurs in the first chak nameh given above of Mulla Jamasp is here omitted and taken as understood

4 This word is written here as in the original farman and the copy of the first chak nameh, and not as مولا as in the original of the first chak nameh Vide above p 143

5 The last letter پ p is omitted We find such eliminations in some ancient Parsi names For example the name Tehmurasp (Avesta Takhma urupa) has become Tehmuras which in its turn latterly became Tehmur (Temur Taimur) which again has been changed into Tehmul in which form we see it in the modern Parsi name Temalji

In this chak nameh we find only the name of Mulla Jamasp and not of Mulla Ho-chang because it refers only to 18 bighas of land which came in division and sub-divisions to one of the descendants of the third generation of Mulla Jamasp

6 Here, after this word, the name Emperor Jehangir which is mentioned in the first Chak nameh is omitted and taken as understood and a little space is kept blank

7 In the first chak nameh the word is پروانچہ

8 عفر ghafr pardoning

9 A title Here the personage is spoken of by his title and not by his name, just as we say, the Prime Minister, the Chancellor etc.

10 Lit The prop or support (itamād) of the State

11 Marhūm, the late As Sikhan was dead by the time of this second chak nameh he is spoken of as 'the late

12 The word آلہی which generally follows in such documents of the Mogul times is not found here. Instead of that, a small space as could contain the word is kept vacant Perhaps this is meant to signify that the word is too revered to be often repeated

13 Alma ayimma 'Land given as a reward or favour by the king at a very low rent A fee (when no rent is paid the land is called لا حراج لا khurāj al-Hodjal); Charity lands.' (Steingass) or it may be for مہ ما one hundred

14 The words Khiref jama outside (i.e., free of) this assessment (jam) are not found in the first chak nameh

15 Ashjār trees

16 Ma āf (from rank order) ranked in The words ranked in the Suba (province) of Ahmedabad are not found in the first chak nameh and the original farman So it seems that it was latterly after the 13th year of Jehangir's reign when the first chak nameh was made that Surat was properly placed in the Suba-ship of Ahmedabad.

سنه ۱۱۲۵ تصلى حاجي بشير ۱ منصوب ۲ رفعت ۳ و ۴ معالي
 بنا مرزا محمد زمان و دانه‌ایان و ۵ مجموعه دار و مقدمان و رعایا
 و مزارعان بموجب تفصیل دل یدمود ۶ و چک سنه حواله مشارالیه
 نموده که احدی زمین مذکور مدخل و مزاحم نشود و موسی الیه
 در قدس و تصرف خود آورد ۷ بخرام خاطر متصل رهن مذکور
 صرف نموده در دعاگوی دوام دولت ابد مدت مشغول باشد
 پشت ۸ بیکه قطعین.

قطع اول — له بنگه ۱۲ ۵ سهو

طولی من الشرق ۹ الی الغرب — یکشت چوب

عرصي من الجنوب الی الشمال — دوشست چوب

شرقی — متصل شارع عام و کشت گوکل دوه.

مری — متصل قطع دوم وظیفه مهرنوش مذکور.

جنوبی — متصل گوکل دوه و دانه‌ایان ملک شریف

شمالی — بست و دو چوب از چاه بدم چاند حی بدل گذاشته

بطری جنوب حداس قطع

قطع دریم — پشت بنگه ۸ سهو

طولی من الشرق الی الغرب ۱۰ چوب

عرصي من الجنوب الی الشمال شست چوب

شرقی — متصل قطع اول مهرنوش ابد دار مستور

مری — متصل شارع عام

جنوبی — دانه‌ایان ملک شریف

شمالی — شارع عام.

تکریر فی التاریخ چهاردهم ۱۴ شهر شعبان المعظم سنه ۷ از

حلوس والا

TRANSLATION

GOD (ALLAH)

Chak nâmeḥ for the assistance of the livelihood of
 Mehernoush (one) of the children of Mulla Jamas Parsi
 and his (Mehernoush's) children According to the *farmân*,

1 mansûb constituted appointed, substituted

2 rif'at exalted noble.

3 ma'âlî, eminences, high places sublime matters

4 maymu'adâr a record keeper, one who checks or audits the account of revenue collectors in each district.

5 biswa the twentieth part of an acre of land ۶۳۱۰. In reading the figures I am helped by a Gujarati translation of the chak nâmeḥ.

۶ ۵۵, upto towards.

of His Majesty, worthy to be obeyed,¹ and according to the *parwānah* of the protector (or giver) of pardons, the gracious² Nawāb Jumlatu-l-Mūlki³ I'atimādu-l-Daulat and Nawāb Wazārat-panāh the late Sifkhān,⁴ 18 *bigāhs* of land (measured) by *gaz* (·i ilahi), from the total free land of the said Mulla Jamas, according⁵ to the Deed of Partition of the said Mchernoush, (and) according to the usual practice,—(viz) one share, (i.e., one-fourth) in the cultivated land of the ryots and threeshares in the uncultivated land—free of assessment and fit for cultivation, together with all trees, from the suburbs of the district of Naosan in the *sarkār* of Surat (which is) ranked in the *subah* of Ahmedabad, in the season of *Lharif tahā*⁶ *koel* in the year 1125 *fasalī*, have been entrusted by Haji Bashir, the Mansub, (i.e. the appointed officer) of the exalted and the most eminent⁷ Mirzā Mahmād Zamān and by the Desāis⁸ and Majmudārs⁹ and Revenue-officers and ryots and cultivators, after measuring (the land) according to the details in the postscript, (i.e., the following details) and settling the Chak, to the above-named (Mchernoush), so that, no one may be an intruder and be troublesome in the said land, and the above-said¹⁰ person may, bringing the land under his hold and possession (and) spending the produce of the said land with peace of mind, for perpetuity be engaged in praying for the constant good fortune (of the King).

The pieces of 18 *bigāhs*.

The First piece, *bigāhs* 9, *hiswā*¹¹ 12.

Length¹² from the East to the West, 61 sticks.

Breadth¹³ from the South to the North 62 sticks.

(Boundaries)

The East adjoining a public thoroughfare and the field¹⁴ of Gokal Birāh.¹⁵

¹ Wājibu l-Ik'ān

² Mustatāb

³ Tals and the next three words form titles

⁴ We find the name of this officer in the first Chak rānch of Mulla Jāmāp and Mulla Mo-haus

⁵ طعن, cleaving to, joined to

⁶ Alberuni's list of Tārīkh m. nth, does not give this name. He gave Kuy as the name of the 10th month and Tishak as that of the 10th month. Perhaps the name Tala Koel of our Chān-namāh is the Taghak of Alberuni (Chronology p. 83).

⁷ Lit. protector of eminent persons. If we read the first word as معالی m'ālī (Gujrati માલી), it may mean protector of spiritual matters, i.e., learned theologian.

⁸ Desāis

⁹ Majmu'adār

¹⁰ Mumi above-mentioned and sām, above named. Mumi has, above said.

¹¹ سو The 20th part of an acre.

¹² طولی Length

¹³ عرضی Breadth

¹⁴ کھیت An Indian word for field. 15 ગોકલબિરા.

The West adjoining the second piece, the property of the said Mehernoush.

The South, adjoining (the property of) Gokal Birāh and the dāhharyeh¹ of Malek Sharif

The North. The boundary of this piece is towards the South, leaving 22 sticks from the old well of Chāndji Patel

The Second piece, bigāhs 8, hiswā 8

Length from the East to the West 56 sticks²

Breadth from the South to the North 60 sticks

(Boundaries)

East. Adjoining the first piece of Mehernoush, the said landholder.

West (It is) Adjoining the public thoroughfare.

South. The Dāhharyeh of Malek Sharif

North Public thoroughfare³

Written on date 14th of the great month Sha'aban of the year 7 of the exalted Accession

(Here follow four signatures, three of Parsees and one of a Hindu who calls himself Majmudār)

Desai Manock Homjee Signed

Desai Dārāb Rustamji Signed

Tehmul Rustam Witness

Mehta Ragnathdāss Vandāvandāss Majmudār What is written here is correct"

The Parsee signatories of the document were known persons of the time

Desai Manock Homji He came to his Desai ship in 1701 on the death of his father Homepbhai Temuji. He died in 1730 His son Jivanji⁴ Manockji also had become famous at Naosari

Desai Dārāb Rustamji also was a known personage of his times⁵

Desai Tehmulji Rustamji (died 1728) He held from the Delhi Emperor the *chodhrai*⁶ of Naosari and Parchol. In 1714, he had purchased from the above Desai Darab Rustamji his share of Desai-ship. It is said, that, as the people of Naosari were tired of the misrule of the officers of the Mogul Emperor, he tried to bring Subedār Pilāji Gaikwād, who ruled at Songad

¹ A Gujarati word. Field of coarse grass Vide above

² *Kudera* Gujarati કુદરા

³ The modern Gujarati શરીઆત (રસ્તો) is શારએ આત The Gujarati phrase શરીઆત બોલું છે comes from these Persian words, meaning it is very false, the intensity of the falsehood being as great as the width of a public thoroughfare.

⁴ Parsee Prakash I, pp 28-30

⁵ Ibid pp 23 and 23

⁶ *Chodhrai* was a kind of high police officer

to power at Naosari in 1720 The Nawab of Surat thereupon took him and his family prisoners Pilaji Rao Gaikwad released them from their prison and gave them high powers under him¹

The Chak nameh bears four seals at the top The inscription on the first big seal on the left runs as follows

حادم شرع محمد شد ربيع الدين عثمانى ۱۱۲۷

i.e. Rafi-u-d din Usmani the servant of the religion of Mahomad confirms² 1127? From a copy of this chak nameh referred to below, it appears that this personage was the Qazi of Naosari at that time

The second small square seal a little above and on the right of the first bears the name مهيد زمان Mahmad Zamân He is the officer named above in the chak nameh

The third small round seal below the second and on the right of it reads السيد بشير i.e. servant Bashir He also is mentioned above in the chak nameh He was a subordinate of Mahamad Zaman It bears a date which seems to be 1123

The fourth seal on the extreme right seems to give the reading as Mian Miran³

This chak nameh of 18 bigahs is spoken of on the last fold from below in the first original as چکنا سر باب ربيع
موضع حوروسي در باب ربيع نام مهربور

i.e. The Chak nameh in the matter of the land in the district of Chovisi in the matter of the land of Ratnagar in the name of Mehernoush

(a) I produce another Persian document for inspection It is

only a copy of the above-given original Chak nameh of Meher noush It is an authenticated, or what we may now call a certified copy It bears the seal of the person who gave the

copy The seal reads حادم شرع جمال الدين عثمانى
i.e. the servant of Religion Jamalu d din Usmani Under the seal of this person we read the words
بعد مطابق اصل

i.e. copy according to the original

As it is a copy we find the following writing somewhat similar to that of the original added at the commencement to show, that it is a copy of the original Chak nameh

1 Parsee Prakash I p 77

2 شد Shad confirm ag

3 The word is not quite leg ble.

4 The word is not leg ble It may be عالیشان

بذل چک نامہ مہر قاضی رفیع الدین و رعیت و معالی پناہ
 سررا مستعد رہاں و حاجی بشیر و نام دساہی ار قرار چہاردم ۱۴
 شہر شعبان المعظم سنہ ۷ ار حاوس والا آنکہ

i.e., copy of the Chak nâmeḥ with the seal of Kāzī Rafiū d-dīn and of exalted and most eminent¹ Mirza Mahmad Zamān and Hajī Bashir and with the name of Desai from the Agreement of the 14th of the great month Sh'abān, year 7 of the exalted accession of the King, viz

We read on the back of the last fold from the bottom the following title ચકનામું વક્લ દો, બાજીરજી મા દેસી

(b) I produce for inspection another copy of the same Chak nâmeḥ, which is a copy taken from the second copy. It is a certified copy of the preceding copy of the Chak nâmeḥ. It gives the wording of the seal of the above copy with additional words, written in a vertical line on the left, as بذل مطابق بذل
 i.e. a copy according to a copy. Then, there is the seal of the certifying officer on the top, on the left of the above writing.² Its lines run as follows —

شرف
 شرع
 خادم قاضی
 فصل الد عثماني
 س دي

These words when properly arranged, read

خادم شرع شرف قاضی فصل الدین عثمانی ۱۲۷۶

i.e., The servant of the noble religion Kāzī Fazlū d-dīn Oosmānī 1286

In the very beginning of the text of this copy of the chak nâmeḥ we have the following writing showing, that it is a copy from a copy

بذل چک نامہ مہر قاضی رفیع الدین و رعیت و معالی پناہ
 سررا مستعد رہاں و حاجی بشیر و نام دساہی ار قرار چہاردم ۱۴
 شہر شعبان المعظم سنہ ۷ ار حاوس والا آنکہ

i.e., copy of the Chak nâmeḥ with the seal of Kāzī Rafiū d-dīn and of exalted and most eminent Mirza Mahmad Zaman and Hajī Bashir and with the name of Desai from the agreement of the 14th of the great month Sh'abān, year 7 of the exalted accession of the King, viz

¹ If read Ma ālī panāh it would mean Protector of spiritual matters i.e. Theologian

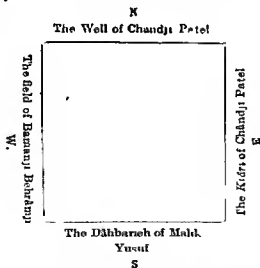
² It bears the following title on its last fold from the bottom.

ચકનામું વક્લાજી વજીરજી મા દેસી ૧૮ વુ દા વળી વક્લ દાજી જમાનોદી
 જોગમાનોની એવળી જે તે ઉપરથી આજમે વક્લ કરી

We find, from this Chak-nameh, that all the 18 bigâhs of this chak-nâmeh were in the land known as Ratnâgar Bâg or Ratnâgar varîfeh (now known as Ratnâgar wâdi). It is near the land now known as Kâchiâ-wâdi (کچیہ وادی), which is considered to be one of the fertile parts of the district of Naosari. As it is situated near the Purnâ river on which Naosari stands, the land is occasionally renewed and fertilized by the new soil brought by the inundations of the river. The Chovisi village which gives its name to the whole district is about 2 miles from this place. The land of Tigreh, referred to in the first Chak-nâmeh of Mulla Jamasp, adjoins Chovisi district.

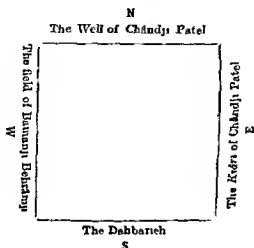
The Ratnâgar bâg land is first referred to in the boundaries of the nine pieces that made up 100 bigâhs of the land granted by Jehangir. Both, a part of the cultivated land (25 bigâhs) and a part of the uncultivated or fallen (uftâdeh) land (75 bigâhs), were included in this Ratnâgar bâg land. The following diagrams give us a bird's eye-view of the boundaries of the two pieces (*vide* the chak-nâmeh above)¹

The piece of 2½ bigâhs in the cultivated good ground of Ratnagar Bâg.



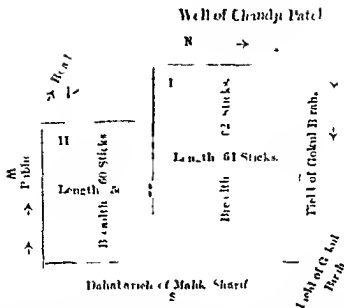
¹ Chovisi is the name of a district still known by that name. A village of that name now is about two miles from the land in question, which is still in the possession of the members of the Dordî family who have descended from Mehernooh.

The piece of $16\frac{1}{2}$ bigahs in the fallen or uncultivated (*ustādeh* ۷۳۷) ground of the Ratnagar Bāg



The details of the boundaries show that both the pieces — one in the fertile or cultivated ground and the other in the fallen or uncultivated ground — stood adjoining each other. So, the boundaries of the whole ground of the Ratnagar bāg may be represented by the same above diagrams

It seems from the details of the *chak nāmeh* now under consideration that Mehernosh got as his share, well nigh the whole of the above referred to land of the Ratnagar garden. The following diagram based on the details of the *chak nāmeh* gives us a bird's eye view of Mehernosh's land. This diagram is not supposed to be a very exact plan. The *chak nāmeh* describes it in two pieces, the length of one of which is shorter than the breadth. As described in the *chak nāmeh*, the length runs from East to West. So I give the diagram in two parts, marked I and II. The public road is represented by the arrow heads.



Second document A Parwanah with the seal of Mahomud Zaman

There is an old document named on its fold as a parwanah which refers to the 18 bigahs of land that came to the share of Mehernosh on partition. It seems, that it was made after the land was settled by the Chak nameh.

حب مكال آلی ۱ غل مدھانی
لہ ۲

مصدقان مہمات حال و استعمال قصہ ہوساری سرکار سورہ
معداند کہ مہاری پردہ بیکہ زمین بکر دروہ و معدد معاش مہر
نوش ار فریدان ملا حامی فارسی با فریدان موحب قرمان عالیشان
مرحمت علوان و پروانہ نواب حبیب الملکی اعتماد الدولت و نواب
ورارت پناہ مددخان مرحوم نور علی و سب نامہ مہر نوش مذکور
صافق صابطہ یک حصہ سرورج رعہدی و سہ حصہ الفادہ خارج جمع
لانی رعایت بمع اشجار طری چوہی و تباگر قصہ مہر طور مہر اسب
لہذا نامی مہر کرد کہ اراضی سرورجہ را بدستور سابق در قبضہ و
بصری مشار الہ بمعہ فریدان مصدق فوق مہاری بددگان حضرت
وا گذارد کہ حاصلات آنرا صرف ما احتیاج خودہا نمودہ بدعای اردباد
عمر و دولت آمد مدت موافق مہمودہ باشد درین باب تعہد و
انتہای ورید تشریف فی الخارج ۲۲ دالقعہ سنہ ۷ حلوسی.

(c) 1 Zillaubhandi is a royal title or epithet meaning the shadow or representative of

2 This is the abbreviated sign of ABA referred to above

TRANSLATION.

" Resting in Paradise God. The Shadow of God

Let the present and the future officers of Government of the town of Naosari of the Sarkâr of Surat know, that (Whereas) about eighteen bigahs of land, (measured) by the (Ilâhî¹), gaz, have been fixed as described for the purpose of the help of the livelihood of Mehernosh, (one) of the children of Parsî Mullâ Jamâs and his (Mehernosh's) children, according to the farmân of His Majesty who is merciful² and according to the *parwanah* of Nawab Jumlatu l Mulû I'rtimâdu l-daulat and Nawâb Wazârat panâh, the late Sîkhân,³ according to the Deed of Partition of the said Mehernosh, (and) according to the usual practice, i.e., one share of cultivated ryot land and three shares of uncultivated land, free of assessment (and) fit for cultivation, together with trees, in the direction of Chovîsî (known as) Ratnâgar in the above⁴ lasbeh, it is therefore put down in writing, that the said lands may be entrusted in the usual way in the charge and possession of the above named person (Mehernosh) and his children as a sacrifice⁵ over the auspicious heads of the slaves of His Majesty, so that spending the (land's) income upon his wants⁶ he may pray continually⁷ for the increase of the life and good fortune for a continuous period. In this matter they (the Government officers) should exercise no delay or defection. Written on the date 22 of Zi'âl qaddeh, year 7 of accession."

The document bears a square seal on the right, a little above the first line. We read therein the name of the officer as محمّد زمان Mahamad Zâman. On its fold, it bears the word فرمان (farmân) instead of پاروانہ (parwanah).

There is a certified copy of this Parwanah with the seal of Kâzi Fazlud din Usmanî. The seal bears words below it saying نقل بمطابق اصل i.e. a copy according to the original. The seal itself bears the wording

¹ Instead of the usual word کلی a space is kept vacant. It seems that to the old and great men was considered irrelevant.

² Lit. of manners or mode (anvân) of compassion or mercy.

³ The name Sîkhân seems to be a contraction of Ashfikhân.

⁴ Master described.

⁵ فقر sacrifice charity. Fargîs head of the Gujarât saying મિયાલ ઉપર

સર્વે કરવુ. The Gujarât મિયાલ gives some similar idea. The signification is, that the land may be given free so that the donee may remain devoted and pray for the kingdom and its officers. Perhaps in the Gujarât word મિયાલ we have the word

⁶ i.e. the phrase *ya gurgishtan* which we find here

⁷ مَا يَأْتِيهِ what is wanted

⁸ مواظبت being assiduous, constant

خادم شرع قاضی فضل الدین عثمانی

i.e., servant of the noble religion Kazi Fazal-u-d-din Usmâni.

This copy bears over a fold the title of the document as
 परवाना अमर अमद खानानी भोहारनी रतनागर वज्रवर्षा. १८ने
 छे तेनी नक्ष

There is a subsequent certified copy of a copy of the original parwānah with the following additional words to show that it is a copy:—

پروانه مهر مستد زمان از قرار بتاریخ ۲۲ ذالقعده سنه ۷ حلوس آنکه

i.e., the Parwānah with the seal of Mahmad Zamān from the writing of date 22 Ziu-l-qu'adeh year 7 of accession, 117.

It bears the seal of Jamāl-u-d-din Usmāni with the words

خادم شرع عالیشان قاضی جمال الدین عثمانی

i.e., a copy according to the copy. The seal bears the name thus

i.e., The servant of the noble religion Jamāl-ud-din Usmāni.

The document is wrongly named on its fold by the owner in pencil as नक्ष अक्ष नामलि.

Third document. A Document In the matter of a Dispute about the land of Mehernoush.

It seems that the above Mehernoush had a dispute with his nephew in the matter of the above 18 bigahs of land. We have a document which refers to this dispute and in which some of the known men of Naosari, both Parsees and non-Parsees, support Mehernoush. It is a kind of our modern affidavit. I give below the text and the translation of the document

Text of the Document appealing for evidence

سوال میکند و ۱ استشهاد میخواهد ۲ اصعب ۳ عباد الله
 مهروش ولد داراب ادبارو قوم فارسی از ورثه ۴ ملان حاماس
 ادبارو قوم مذکور ساکن قصه نوماری از سادات کرام و مشایخ
 دوی الاحترام و جمهور ۵ مسکن و عموم ۶ متوطنه قصه
 مذکوره اندر این معنی که یک قطعه زمین صوازی بنده بیگه از وطنه
 ملا حاماس مزبور اندرون قصه مذکوره طرف چوبی که معروف بوداگر

1 Istiḥād, taking evidence, -summoning witness - bringing testimony or proof

2 Az'af, most weak helpless

3 'Ibād, servant devotee, 'ibādāt service, worship

4 This is another way in which the word mulā is written in this document. We saw above two forms, ملا and مولا

5 Jumhur, gathering of people populace, all

6 Saknat, pl of sakan, inhabitants

7 Mutawattin, inhabitant, resident

است و سانی قطع مذکوره یادنگر شواکالی اس سایل مشرقی و غیر
معلوم بود دانی التال دماهی شرکا محصی خود را از قطع برده
بنام عریوره بر ما و رعیت خود با حواله اس سایل کرده و مسکات خرد
شرعی و لا دعوی و چکنامه و نصحتنامه نام در صدور قطع برده
بنام مذکوره بنام اس سایل کنانده داده فایض و منصرف گردانند
نه متصل آن قطع رهن عریوره را منصرف شده جواب و سوال
اخراجات دیوانی و غیره آنچه بر رهنی شود نماید چنانچه تمسکات
عریوره و چکنامه و نصحتنامه صدور دماهی قطع مذکوره بنام خود
بدست بدارم و از آن مدعی پرداخت رهنی بخواهی نموده شروع
ساحبه اوراق گذران خود میکنم اوراق حمام مانک ولد داراب مسطور
برادر حتمی اس سایل بدر مسک فروخت حصه خود از قطع برده
بنام عریوره بنام اس سایل نوشته داده آن در بدست بدارم التال
ورقم مانک مذکور بکالی مسک شرعی بدر خود دعوی نموده در پی
تصدیع و تکلیف بموجب اس سایل گردیده و با تراز هرکس نه صدق
این معنی اطلاع داشته باشد بحمد الله شهادت خرد در دل اس
اوشتمه ثبت نماید که عبدالله ماحور و عبدالله ماس مشهور گردند

१ मेमर्ष भाखु छ ते भएनी वनी बाछे छवनछ मही

१ हेसाछ कुछछ मरेछ मही

१ मेमर्ष पुगेशे तेसु छ मही

१ हेसाछ दाराम उत्तमछ मही

१ आ गिराम पाछानन माथ

१ आ नवगेण रेमासछ माथ

१ आ नमस आशाछ सही

१ आ रतन भाखे-छ साथ

१ आ भाखे नवगेण मही

१ आ नमगेह उत्तमछ माथ

TRANSLATION

Mehernosh a poor errant of God a son of Adharu
(i.e. priest) Dârab of the Parsee Community (one) of the heirs
of Adharu Mulla Jamas of the said community an inhabitant
of the *gasaba* (town) of Naosari asks and implores evidence
from generous *Sayids* and most honoured⁶ *Shaikhs* ⁷ and from
all the inhabitants and the resident public of the above said

¹ Shuraka, pl of sharik partner

² husaa pl of husaa share

³ hasb, in conformity with according to according to

⁴ Wasiqat writing bond agreement

⁵ Saddat pl of d and

⁷ Mashgikh pl of shakh

⁶ Zawil ihti am, master of honour

town (of Naosari) in this matter, i.e., that (there is) a piece of land, about 18 *Bigahs* from the Wazifa (i.e., the land) of the above-named Mullâ Jamâs in the above-said *qasaba* in the direction of Chovisi, which (piece) is known as Ratnagar, and which above-mentioned piece was formerly shared¹ by this applicant with other partners and was undivided². Till now, all partners have, of their own free will and pleasure, given possession of their shares in this said piece of 18 *Bigahs* to this applicant (and) having got done and given (i.e., transferred) legal³ bonds⁴ of purchase and release⁵ and Chak nameh and letter of verification⁶ with the seal of ministers⁷ for the said piece of 18 *Bigahs*, in the name of this applicant, made him possessor and occupant,⁸ so that, he (the applicant) coming into the possession of the produce of the said piece of land may hold himself responsible⁹ in the matter of all civil revenues &c., which may be due on the land. Accordingly, I have in my hands in my own name the said bonds and Chak nameh and verifications of the minister, about the whole of the said piece (of land) and since that long time properly¹⁰ improving¹¹ the land (and) cultivating it make it the means of my livelihood. About all this,¹² Manock, the son of the above mentioned Dirâh, this applicant's (i.e., my) own¹³ brother, also had given in writing the bond¹⁴ of the sale of his own share in the said piece of 18 *Bigahs* in the name of this applicant, which (bond) also I have in my possession.

Now, the heirs of the above mentioned Manock have contrary to the legal bond of their own father, setting up a claim, without cause, turned (themselves) towards putting the applicant to trouble and molestation. Therefore any body, who has any information about the truth of this affair,¹⁵ may, agreeable to God, affirm his own testimony under this writing¹⁶ so that, he may be recompensed by God¹⁷ and he may be thanked by men.¹⁸

¹ Mushtarak

² شرعى Shar'î

³ لا دعوای la dâ wa 'r lea e

⁷ Sadur pl. of 'adr

¹⁰ Waql completed prop. r.

¹¹ Pardakhtan to clean adorn improve or it may mean being wholly engaged in working on the land

¹² or from all the e (partner)

¹³ Haqiqi true real or

¹⁴ ma'ni signification sense report

¹⁵ Wasitqah, written, a room of bond

¹⁶ Over the last word *gordad* there is a letter which is not clear. It may be

a word like *Yaqt* to signify that the writing is finished or with it the last word may be read *gordad*. In this case then the translation would be he would make me recompensed by God and thankful to men

⁴ Chak nameh

⁵ Tamassukat

⁶ Ta'hib nameh

⁹ Lit gives quietness and security

¹⁸ Tamassuk

¹⁷ inshallah

There is one thing in this document which puzzles me. Mehernoush complains of the conduct of his brother's children, saying, that though their father Manock (Mehernosh's brother) had settled his share with him, they raised disputes. Now, we do not find in the family genealogy, Manock as a brother of Mehernoush. We find one Manock put down as the son of Mehernoush. This makes us say, that we must be very careful in the matter of these genealogies, based on the family *nam grahn* and the records of priesthood kept at Naosari. At times mistakes and misunderstandings may arise from the fact of the custom of adoption. When a person is adopted, his name is recited in the family recitals of prayers, as that of a son. At times, even a brother is adopted. So in that case the brother is shown as a son. It seems that here there may be a similar case. Manock though a real brother of Mehernoush, may have been given to him in adoption. So his name may appear in the genealogical tree as that of a son.

Ten persons have signed the document in Gujarati supporting the statement of Mehernoush. I have given above their signatures in Gujarati. All these Parsees formed a galaxy of some of the well known personages of the time at Naosari.

I have pointed out above that the first signatory, Desai Manockji Homji, who had also signed the Chak nameh was a leading Parsee of his time. The second Desai Kukaji Meherji (1652-1742) was a great man who had great influence with both the Mogul and the Gailwadi officers. It is said that the latter often consulted him in Government affairs. Desai Khurshedji Temulji (1688-1779) was a leader of the Naosari Parsees, who had great influence with the rulers of Naosari and who had given a helping hand in some of the old Naosari charities. Desai Darabji Rustumji is also referred to above.

Darab Pahlan was a known Dastur of Naosari, and the author of several Persian writings, and among them of the well known Farziat nameh and Kholâsch-i Din. Nowroji Kersaspji was a leading priest of Naosari.¹ Jamasp Asaji (1697-1773) was the great Dastur Jamasp Asa the founder of the Jamasp Asa family. He was a known Persian scholar. Rutton Manockji was a known priest, known as Ruttonji Manockji Antia.² Manock Nowroji also was a known priest of Naosari.³ Jamshed Rustumji (1701-1760) was the Dastur Jamshedji Rustumji Meherji Rana who came to the Dasturship of Naosari in 1722.

Besides the above Parsee signatories, almost all of whom are well known persons of the time who have put down

¹ Parsee Prakash I pp 25, 26, 27, 31

² Ibid pp 25-26.

³ Ibid p 27

their signatres under the document there are a number of Mahomedan gentlemen who have signed the document in various positions on the right hand side broad margin of the document Some of them have put down their seals

Of the two seals above the first line of the document the one on the left reads

خادم رسول الله وادع من امر الهى الله مهر فاضى على الله
بدان

* e The seal of Qazi Uthiq Alla the servant of the religion of the prophet of God informed of the science of the Divine order of God in Deputy ship¹

Under the seal on the left, there is a line written crosswise, which reads
الامر كمر به اسطر فى المنى حوى لارب، ثبت اصب

* e The fact is that all the line in this text are inscribed true and without doubt

The second larger seal on the right reads

مهر فاضى احمد بدان خادم شرع مستعد ١١٣٩ سنه

* e The seal of Kazi Ahmad by Deputy ship or (succession) the servant of the religion of Mohamad 1139 year

The third seal reads
عماد الدين عثمانى ١١٣٩

* e Amadu l din Usmanu 1139

The line under this seal on its left reads something like

مضمون الدين بدان الواقع

* e The purport of this text is described as what happened

The fourth seal in the extreme right is not legible The line under it in the left is
سابقه امر

* e, Witness of what (ma) in written within (fi)

The fifth seal down below on the right reads
مستعد مستعد ١١٣٥

* e Sayad Mahomad 1135 The line under it on the left is
مضمون مسطور بان واقع
* e the purport of these lines is the same as the fact

The other Mahomedan signatories beginning from the top on the right hand margin who have put down their signatures everywhere under different statements of confirmation are

Qadavat Ali

Shakh Rasuddin

Mursalahuddin

¹ Nayabat, success or vice-rency Deputy ship What is meant by this word seems to be that he was a Deputy in the Qazi-ship or perhaps it may mean that the qazi-ship had come to him in succession

² amr, fact

³ la rib undoubted.

⁴ matn, the text of a book

⁵ sabt, inscribed

Abdullah, son of Shaikh Abdul Razâh
 Malik Mahomad, son of Malik Ashâq
 Nuruddin, son of Shaikh Abdul Wahed
 Mahmud Hanah, son of Saleh Mahmud
 Abdulla Salam, son of Shaikh Abdul Malik
 Fuzalla, son of Shaikh Razvânalla
 Shaikh Abdulla
 Mohamad Amin, son of Shaikh Mansen
 Sayad Ahmad
 Sayid Aa'zin, son of Sayid Nuralla
 Sayid Surâjuddîn, son of Sayid Jaâfar
 Shaikh Jinatallah (or perhaps Hasoballa), son of Shaikh
 Abdul latif
 Sayad Hamad, son of Sayid Mohamad
 Shaikh Amuruddîn, son of Qazî Refi u-ddîn
 Shaikh Abdul latif son of Shaikh Rasid
 Mohamad Zâz, son of Abdul latif
 Sayid Arif son of Sayid Mahomad
 Khwajeh Ahmad, son of Khwajeh Mahamad
 Almost all of these 23 signatories have begun with the word
 Shahid, i.e. witness

The document itself bears no date. Three of the seals of
 the Mahomedan signatories have dates. Two bear the date 1139.
 A third seal, the last of the five bears the date as 1135. The
 seals bear the dates of the time when they were made.

From the dates of the document, it appears certain that the
 dispute arose after the above Chak nameh in favour of
 Mehernoush was made and before the Hijri year 1135.

FOURTH DOCUMENT A RECEIPT RELERRING TO THE LEASE OF THE LAND OF MEHERNOUSH

The following is the text and translation of a document
 which says that Mehernoush had leased a part of the land of
 Mulli Jamasp which fell to his share for cultivation for a period
 of three years. In this document which is a copy not the ori-
 ginal, he acknowledges receipt of the money and declares that
 the use of the property has come back to him. The receipt
 bears the seal of a Government officer. The document bears
 on its fold the (Sogdian word) رسید Pers رسید Rasid
 English Receipt. This document, like many of the preceding
 documents, bears at the top in the centre of the leaf the word
رسید hu, i.e. to Him. It seems to be another and that a shorter
 form of رسید.

دعای
 عرصن ار این بوشهر آنگه منکم مهرنوش ولد داراب ادبارو
 صاکی وصتم بوساری ام اقرار منکم بوند معنی که صلاح دوده رود و
 دو آبر داشت وظیفه شراکت ملک حاماس بمعوت بهرام اسپو فارسی
 حساب سه ساله بوصول نادم و در قعص و تصرف خود آوردن این
 چند کلمه بطوری سند بوشهر شد که اثباتاً حال نگار اند تهرنوشی
 الفاربع ۱۴ شهر جمادی الثانی سنه ۲۸ خلوصی

TRANSLATION

The object of writing this is this

I, who am Mehernoush, the son of Darab Adharoo inhabitant of the town of Naosari, make declaration to this effect that I have received a sum of Rupees nineteen and annas two in the matter of the property of the share from Mulla Jamasp through Behram Aspu Parsee for the account of three years and I have brought it (i.e. the property) in my charge and possession. These few words are written by way of agreement (*sannad*) so that it (the property) may come again (lit. secondly) in (my) use.

Written on date 14 of the month of Jamadul sani year 34 of accession to the throne.

The original of this document had a seal which the present copy gives as *صدارالدین عثمانی خادم شرع محمد شد* i.e., Ziar-ud-din² Usmani the servant of the religion of Mohomed. Confirmed.

Behram Aspur referred to in the document was Behram Aspu Peshutan Chanda whose family held the Talati-ship of the Parchol parganah. It was in 1610 A.D. that the Talati-ship was first given to his grandfather Peshotan Chanda. The document bears the date 38 Jahusi. The Jahusi year is of the accession of Shah Alum who came to throne in 1118 Hiji (1707 & A.D.) So the 38th year of his reign is 1156 Hiji corresponding to 1743-44.

(a) The photo lithos of the *farman* (b) Mehernoush's check nameh and (c) his appeal (*saval*) to the leading men are appended herewith.

¹ Arab. *Sānīyān* secondly in the second place.

² The same name as Menar-ud-din.

³ *Jahree* *Araka* 1963.

Some Prayer gestures of the Babylonians and Assyrians Their Parallels among the ancient Iranians and modern Persians

Read on 3rd December 1910

The subject of this paper has been suggested to me by an interesting and instructive paper in the Introduction October 1910 issue of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of London (Art XVI) entitled 'Gesture in Sumerian and Babylonian Prayer A study in Babylonian and Assyrian Archaeology' and written by Dr S Langdon Professor of Assyriology at Oxford. When I was reading Dr Langdon's paper, I happened to stay at Khandala in the beautiful bungalow on the Elphinstone point belonging to Mr Rustamjee Byramjee Jejeebhoy, in the compound of which there is a monolith which has on its four sides a number of partly defaced and destroyed figures with different gestures and postures of hands. Among these gestures some hand postures suggest that some

¹ The Bombay Gazetteer of Poona thus speaks of the monolith. "Near the west wall of the garden of Mr Balramjee's house is a pillar about a foot square and four feet high covered with rich much worn carving. Among the figures are more than one small seated images. The pillar is said to have been brought from near the reversing station by a Mr Adam who was employed in making the Railway." Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency Vol XVIII Part III Poona page 257 n. 1.)

My information gathered from Mr Pestonji Nusservanji Wadia who, as the Private Secretary of the late first Mr Byramjee Jejeebhoy had been off and on visiting the bungalow since about 1860 was that the monolith belonged to a temple on the fort on the hill of Raj Mahal which one sees from the Railway train during a great part of the Borehaut ascent from Karjat to Khandala and which is situated at the distance of about 10 miles from Khandala. Some curiosity to know whether the monolith belonged to that temple led me to visit the fort and the temple on 31st May of this year. The fort has a battlement, a sentry and the temple—the temple of Bhairav—is a ruin. At present it is more a dilapidated hut than a place of worship. From what I observed there I am inclined to think, that the Bombay Gazetteer's statement that the monolith was brought at the Bungalow from a site at the Reversing Station is not correct and that it is likely, that it belonged to the temple at Raj Mahal. I got excavated from the rubbish round the temple but the ruin of another monolith, which, however had some figures on only one side similar to those on the monolith at Khandala. This much is certain that the monolith must have belonged to a temple or a place of worship of some structural importance. But we do not find near the Reversing Station any ruins of a temple to which the monolith may have belonged.

The monolith is said to have been brought to the bungalow by Mr S Adamson, a Contractor who built the Borehaut Railway. He had built the bungalow for his residence for several years during which the Ghant was built. I found his name in small letters on three pieces of the furniture of the bungalow which passed from his hands through one or two purchasers to the hands of the late Mr Byramjee. The name Adam as given by the Gazetteer is evidently a mistake for Adamson.

I beg to draw the attention of our Archaeological Department to the monolith for study. A paper by some Hindu scholar on all the prayer-gestures whether of hands or otherwise will be very welcome to students of Prayer-attitudes.

of the figures are of persons who are praying. Two figures present a pose of the hands placed on the lap, which we see in many figures of Budha and Indian deities. I am sorry, I have not been able to produce a cast of these figures, but I produce for inspection a very rough sketch of them taken by an unskilled hand. The gestures of the figures on this monolith led me to think further on the subject of Dr Langdon's paper and to study the question of prayer gestures of the ancient Iranians and modern Parsees.

While speaking of gestures referred to in the Bible Mr W. Ewing¹ says that 'The Oriental is a natural expert in appropriate and expressive gesture. To his impulsive and immotional temperament, attitude and action form a more apt vehicle for thought and feeling than even speech. Conversation is accompanied by a sort of running commentary of gestures.' The object of this paper is to treat the question of gestures among the ancient Iranians, not all gestures but only those which present some parallelism with those referred to by Dr Langdon as prevailing in Sumeria, Assyria or Babylonia.

Dr Langdon says 'Religious worship is abundantly illustrated in many of its most important aspects by scenes engraved on Sumerian, Babylonian and Assyrian seal cylinders. Chronologically, the seals of this region illustrate nearly every period of the long history of these peoples and the changing rituals and beliefs of their religion. A very large proportion of the seals represent the owner of the seal approaching a deity in the attitude of prayer. The engravers of cylinders in all periods probably kept in stock seals engraved with the scene of the private prayer as the custom imposed in their periods. The human who is figured standing before a god or in Assyria more frequently before a divine symbol, is not a portrait of the owner of the seal. The owner regards himself rather as represented and symbolized by the conventional figure. In those cases in which the engraver produced a seal cylinder at the command of a Sumerian or Babylonian perhaps we may regard the praying figure as an approximate portrait.' Dr Langdon then refers to the various attitudes of the worshipper's hands in the different periods, and compares 'these attitudes with those which characterise the worship of adjacent peoples.' Among the adjacent peoples, Dr Langdon does not refer to the ancient Iranians who were Zoroastrians by faith. This is perhaps because, what can be called authentic history shows that the ancient Iranians at the


¹ Dictionary of the Bible by Rev. Hastings

² J. R. A. S. October 1919 p. 351

³ Ibid p. 33

time of their highest glory were the successors of the Babylonians and Assyrians and not their contemporaries. Sir W Jones, though he identified the earlier Iranians of the Peshdâdian dynasty with the Assyrians, thought, "that the annals of the Peshdâd or Assyrian race may be considered dark and fabulous, those of the Kaiyâni family as heroic and poetical, and those of the Sassanian kings as historical." However, we know from some authentic sources, that the ancient Iranians had in the early career of their history, come into contact with the Babylonians and Assyrians.

The very name Babylon can be traced to the Avesta Babylon,

Babylon, the Bawri of the Avesta Its founder Bâvar (asp) is the Bawri  of the Avesta (Yt V, 29), Bawri of the Cuneiform inscriptions (Behistun Inscription I, 6) and Babil of the Persian writers. Philologically, the ancient Iranian name Bawri, can easily become at first Babil and then Babylon. The letter 'w' of Bawri can easily change place with 'h' both letters being of the same *Sihâna*. So Avesta Bawri, would become Babri. Then 'r' can easily be read 'l'. So Babri would become Babil, which then became Babil. The last part 'on' is a later Greek addition, as we find in the case of Macedon Chalcedon etc.

I think that the city has taken its name from its original founder. Who was the founder? The Avesta connects Bawri with one Azi Dahaka who is said to have offered at Bawri a great sacrifice of 100 horses, 1000 oxen and 10000 lambs or goats. This name Azi Dahaka was latterly contracted into Dabaka, the first part Azi being dropped. We have several such cases of parts of an old name being dropped, for example, in the Avesta name Takhma urupa, the latter part 'urupa' is dropped in the Fargardî Yâst, and we find the name simply as Takhma a form which has latterly given us the later Iranian name Tahmâ tan (another name of Ru tam) and Tehe-mina (the name of the wife of Ru-tam). In the same way, we find that the Avesta name Yima Khshâeta which has given us the later name Jamshed, has been contracted into Yima (Jam in the Afrin: Hept Ameshâspand). Here in the case of the name Azi Dahaka, it is the first part, Azi that is dropped and the name was contracted into Dahâk, which soon became without any philological difficulty, Zohâk, a name with which Sir Walter Scott has familiarized his readers of the novel of Talsman.

Now, the extent Avesta connects this Azi Dahaka or Zohâk with Bawri in the matter of a sacrifice and says nothing

more but the Pahlavi Bundehesh¹ says, that this Azi Dahaka or Zohak built a palace in Bāhylon which was known as Kulang Dushūt, which is the Kvirinta Duzhita of the Avesta (Yt XV 19) Kulen Dis of Hamza Isphahān, Gangi Diz hukht of Firdousi² (Mohl I p 96) These references show that Bawri or Babylon, was not only the seat of Zohak's great sacrifice but was also founded by him. Maqoudi attributes the foundation of Bāhylon to Nimrod³ But, as pointed out by Malcolm oriental writers identify this Nimrod with Zohak Ebn Haukal⁴ and Edrisi⁵ also attribute the foundation of Babylon to Zohak.

The Pahlavi Shatroha i Arān says that Bawri was founded in the reign of Jamshed "He (the founder of the city) fixed there (the direction of) the planet mercury By the situation of the city or its building, he pointed out magically the 7 planets, the 12 constellations and signs of the Zodiac and the eight parts (of the heavens) towards the sun and other planets" Now Zohak lived in the time of Jamshid In fact, Jamshid, the Iranian was overthrown by Zohak the Bāhylonian So, this statement of this Pahlavi treatise also indirectly supports the fact that Zohak was the founder of Bāhylon

The above statement of this book that Zohak founded the city on some astronomical principles, or to speak generally, attending to some principles of orientation, is supported by Maqoudi, who connects with Nimrod (who is identified by some with Zohak) the cult of fire and stars⁶ Now the Bundehesh⁷ and the Shah nameh⁸ say, that this Azi Dahaka or Zohak was known as Baevār asp The Pazend Afrin i Haft Amsh aspad (s 8) also points to this identification Zohak was called Baevār asp because he was the possessor of 10 000 (baevār) horses (asp) I think then that the city Bawri the original form of the later name Bābīl (Bāhylon) derived its name from its founder Baevār asp which was another name of Azi Dahāka or Zohak The second part of the name asp was dropped, as it often happens and as seen above in the case of other proper names I have gone rather deep into this subject in order to show, on the authority of old Parsee books and of the works of Arab authors, that the ancient Iranians had come into contact with the Bābylonians under Zohak I must admit,

¹ Darmesteter Le Zend Avesta II p 584 Études Iraniques II pp 410-413 Vide the Photo-zinco Text published by the Parsee Panchayat and edited by Mr Behram Zote Tehemuras Ankletaria


² Vide my Dictionary of Avesta Proper names p 63



³ Maqoudi par Barbier de Meynard I p 78 4 Ouley's Oriental Geography p 1




⁴ Edrisi par Jaubert II pp 160-61 5 Maqoudi par B-de Meynard I p 40






⁶ Chap XXIX 9 s B E vol V p 119 8 Mohl I p 2

that herein we go to, what are known as, pre historic times, but, anyhow, we find that there was some connection. So, if you once expect some such connection, one may expect to find, at least some parallels between the prayer gestures and attitudes of the Iranians and those of the Babylonians and Assyrians. I propose dealing in this Paper with some of these prayer gestures and attitudes. In fact, my paper may be taken as one continuing the study of the prayer gestures and attitudes of the Babylonians and Assyrians to times subsequent to the periods to which Dr Langdon refers. In the ordinary course, I would have preferred to read this Paper before my Anthropological Society of Bombay, but, as Dr Langdon's Paper is published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, I beg to submit mine before the Bombay Branch of the Society.


Let us first of all examine some poses of hand referred to in some hand the Avesta. The Avesta word for hand poses of the Avesta is Zasta  (Pahl *hasla* Sans *hasla* (हस्त) Per *da t* (دست) Ger hand). The Avesta has generally two words, one for good persons and another for bad persons. Thus, Zasta is the hand of good persons and *gava* (گوا) Gr *gusion*) for that of bad persons.¹

The prayer pose of the hands is *ustana zasta*  *ustana*  : e stretched fourth or uplifted² (from *us* or *uz*

us  Pahl *S*  Per *sans*  Ger *aus* Lat *ex out*) We find frequent references to hands holding offerings in prayers. For example *asmozasta* : e holding the fire wood in the hand³ (Yacna LXII) *gao-zasta* : e., holding some cow productions

¹ For similar instances we have *rādha* (Sansk *पार्श्व*, Per *par*  Lat *pods* per *Fr* pied Ger *fuss* Eng *foot*) for the foot of good men and *lāretha* () and *dvaretha* () for that of bad men. *Varetha* () for the head of good men and *kamradha* () for that of bad men.

² The holding up of the hands was a prayer gesture of the Hebrews also. "When Moses held up his hand Israel prevailed" (Exodus XVII 11).

³ The three Magis or the Wise men of the East are said to have carried incense (labdanum ) in their hands as an offering to the infant Jesus.

(a) We see it in the initiating ceremony of Nivar, wherein the initiate or candidate for priesthood is conducted to a temple by the head priest accompanied by other priests and laymen and even ladies.

(b) Again up to a few years ago, at Naosari, on the occasions of the Gahambara (season festivals) a procession headed by the head priest (Dastur) and other elders (Dharmas) went on a previous day to the place where the communal feast was to take place the next day. There the head priest and the elders with their own hands threw in a cooking pot a few spices (quins) etc., to be cooked for the meal for the next day. They placed sandal wood and frank incense on the fire preparing the food and said the prayer of Tan darusti (Benediction) invoking God's blessings on the whole community.

(c) Marriage processions though dying out generally in a great crowded city like Bombay, where the parents of the bridegrooms and brides have not sufficient accommodation at their own places for the marriage ritual and its preliminaries, social and religious and where consequently there are common gathering places like the Aillias Baug, the Cama Baug etc., do not still seem to have lost their preliminary signification. The principle marriage procession in early days was that in which the bridegroom went to the house of the bride to be married and to fetch the bride to her new home. Nowadays though both the parents of the bride and the bridegroom meet in a common communal place there generally still remains the travesty or the show of the bridegroom going out in the company of the officiating priests and the ladies of his family, from one gate of the gathering place and returning by the other.

(d) The next instance of a religious procession still extant, is that of the funeral procession wherein the mourners headed by priests at least by two priests follow the bier in pairs of two reciting a prayer. The presence of priests in all these processions still preserves the religious character of the processions.

As in the Babylonian Archaeology so in the Iranian Archaeology there arises the question as to who

The praying figures in the Babylonian and Iranian Archaeology represent? Whom do the praying figures on the Babylonian seals represent? Whom do the praying figures in the Iranian sculptures represent? As to Babylonia Dr Langdon says The praying figures on seals actually represent the owners. Of that we can no longer doubt. Sumerians Babylonians and Assyrians carried about on their seals representatives of themselves as they said the r

(4) The palm not turned inward but facing the left "The hand is thus brought into such position that the narrow surface on the side of the little finger is turned towards the deity"

Now let us see what the Iranian materials have to say about these attitudes

In the Babylonian and Assyrian seals,
 1 The attitude of being led by the hand the gods are represented as leading their protégés by their hands before "a great seated deity" (a) Iranian writings, (b) sculptures and (c) ritual refer to this attitude

(a) We learn from the Pahlavi *Ardâi Virâf nâmesh*, that, when *Ardâi Virâf*, the ancient Iranian Dante, was led in a vision to the other world to see Heaven and Hell, he was led by the hand by the Yazatas or angels, Âtar and Sraosha. We read Virâf saying "the two angels caught hold of my hands" (*zak i li yadman faraz vakhdunt*, Chap IV, 6,¹ V, 6, XI, 2, 13, XVI, 1) He was similarly led before Ahuramazda, the Supreme Deity and his Ameshaspands or archangels (Ch. CI 1, 2)

(b) We see the same attitude in some of the Iranian sculptures which refer to times much anterior to that when the above Pahlavi work was written. We see this in the sculptures at Persepolis (*vide* travels of Sir Robert Ker Porter in Georgia, Persia, Vol I, pp 604, 609 (six groups), 612 (five groups, Plates 37, 43), *vide* Mr Kavasji Dinshawji Kiash's *Ancient Persian Sculptures*, Plates XI, XIII, XV, XVII, XVIII) Here a well dressed person, armed with a mace and a dagger, holds by his left hand the right hand of another simple unarmed man and leads him. The second man is followed by several others, who carry in both their hands big bowls or cups containing perhaps, various articles of presents or offerings. The second person is led either before a King to make presents as humble homage, or to a place of worship with offerings. The first person may be a courtier, and he may be leading, by the hand, citizens who came to pay their homage to the sovereign. But the mace and the sword do not preclude the possibility of his being a priest, because the Iranian priests also carried weapons, intended to be symbolic of spiritual weapons with which they were to strike and destroy the *Daêvas* or evil powers and influences. Even now, in the ceremonial procession of the *Nâvar*, the initiate or the candidate for priesthood carries with him a *gurz* (*Avesta zareza*, i.e., a mace) which he keeps underneath his bed for three nights, and in the *Yazash nagah* when he performs the liturgical services for four days. Ker Porter argues, that "the design of the artist is not to display

¹ The Text of Dr Hoshangli p 16 etc

vishâ gënshchâ urvânem, i.e., I pray rapturously with all humility with uplifted¹ hands primarily for all righteous acts from the invisible bountiful Mazda and for wisdom resulting from good mind, so that thereby, I may please the (very) soul of the universe (c) In the Farvardin Yasht (Yt XIII 60-57), where prayers for the Fravashis or Farohars of the dear departed ones are referred to, they are spoken of as with "hands holding food and clothes" for the poor (gromata Zasta vastravata u-ha nîsa nemanghâ) (d) In Gatha Ushvavanti (Yasna XLIII, 4), Ahura Mazda is represented as bestowing blessings both upon the sinful and the righteous with hands (Zastâ . . haf-hi . . ., ashish)

In the Babylonian seals, where the various prayer attitudes are represented, we see the winged form of the genii. Among the Iranians, the Fravashis or Farohars are represented as flying.

The Avesta refers to the winged form of the genii. It is said in the Farvardin Yasht (Yt XIII 69-70), that the Fravashis (the spiritual prototypes) of the righteous, fly to the help of those who invoke them in the form of winged birds or winged bird like men. We read there

Yat yat bavanti avi-spashtô easti danghêush hamo-khshathro aurvathaeibyô paro tbishyanbyô, tao haschit upa zbayenti avanghê tao dim avinîrâvayenti, mânayên ahê yathâ nî merêgô hupêréno i.e., When the well ruling King of a country is taken unawares (i.e., is surprised) by a harmful enemy, then he invokes to his aid the powerful Fravashis of the righteous

They (The Fravashis) fly towards him (for help) like (i.e., in the form of) well-winged man like² birds

The various Attitudes of the Worshipper's Hands. Now, we come to the various attitudes of the worshipper's hands. Dr. Langdon refers to the following—

(1) The owner of the seal conducted into the presence of a great seated deity by his own personal god, who leads his protégé by the hand

(2) The right hand extended and the forearm raised parallel with the face, palm inward

(3) Both hands folded at the waist

¹ or out stretched from us-tan ("ana. उद-तन् Lat tendere Fr étendre Pers. tanndan) to stretch out.

² Dr. Geldner thinks this word unnecessary but here the reference seems to be to forms half human and half bird-like

In small or large gatherings or prayer meetings for example, those held on occasions of public prayers (*yashans*) during the last war or on occasions of joyous celebrations they produce fire in a vase in the midst of the gathering and all say the *Ātash nūsh* standing round the fire. A priest holds, by one hand a ladle over the vase during the above referred to recital of the portions of the *nūsh* and thus establishes as it were a contact between himself and the fire before which they pray. He gives his other hand to the person next to him. Then this second person gives his other unoccupied hand to a third person who in turn gives one of his hands to a fourth person and so on. The gathering may be large say of hundreds and all thus hold each other by the hand. Some establish the contact by holding the fringe or skirt of another's upper garment. Some establish the contact by placing their hands on the shoulders of others who have formed a contact in one way or another. The principal aim or object is to establish a kind of contact with the Fire before whom they pray. As all cannot form a direct contact by holding a ladle on the fire vase they form this indirect contact or contact through another's contact.

(b) During the recital of a prayer recited on two occasions of *Gahambars* or season festivals and known as *Gahambar nū pārs* so called because all the celebrants were expected to sit in a kind of circuit enclosed by a *pav* or a marked enclosure a contact is established by all the celebrants either spreading the skirts of their upper ceremonial garment (*jameb*) so as to touch one another or by placing their handkerchiefs between two persons when they do not sit close enough to touch one another.

(c) In the recital of the *Rapithavin Yašn* during a particular part of the ritual the two celebrants the *Zot* and the *Rathur* establish a contact among themselves by holding the skirt of the *Sudre* (sacred shirt) of the other who precedes him.

(d) In a Parsee funeral procession one sees even at present the priests and other mourners going in the procession in pairs holding a handkerchief between them.

From all these considerations I think that in some cases the idea of the attitude of holding another by the hand may be that of leading him and in others—where the holding of skirts of each others clothes and the placing of one's hand upon the shoulder of another are variants—that of establishing a contact. The creation of the contact was ultimately meant to express co-operation and sympathy in the particular work.

a religious procession¹. But one cannot definitely say that it is not a religious procession. His own long quotation² from Zenophon about Cyrus's procession with sacred bulls and horses etc., points to a probability that the procession may perhaps be religious.

(c) Again, in the modern Parsee ritual we see something of one person conducting another. In the very ceremony of Navar, above referred to, the initiate or the candidate is held by the hand by the priest who initiates him and is presented before the senior priest and the priestly assembly, from whom a formal permission is asked to initiate the candidate into priesthood. Again, in the celebration of the Yacna, on two occasions, one of the celebrants leads the other by the hand.

In the Persepolis sculptures, where we see the attitude of one person leading the other by the hand, we see two other peculiarities which seem to have escaped attention. In one of the sculptures (*vide* Ker Porter's Plate 37, *vide* also Plate on page 708), we see a person holding the skirt of another person who precedes him. We see this in both the groups of the above plate. Again, in some cases, we see one person placing his hand on the shoulder of another person proceeding him (*Ibid*). What do these attitudes signify? What are they intended for? In the recital by an assembly, of the *Atash Nyaish* &c, the prayer in honour of the angel presiding over fire, we, at times, find the combination of all the varieties, above referred to of holding the hand etc. We see persons (a) holding others by the hand, (b) placing their hands on the shoulders of another and (c) holding others by the fringes of their dress. I will describe the process here at some length.

(a) When a Parsee recites his *Atash nyaish*, during the recitals of some parts of the prayer, the worshipper holds a ladle over the fire vase so as to touch it. If he is saying the *nyaish* before the sacred fire of a Fire-temple as he cannot go into the fire chamber, wherein priests only can enter, during the above recitals he places his hand upon the door, or a window or the wall of the fire chamber, the object being to establish some contact with the fire before him. In some fire temples some ornamental strings hanging from the ceiling are provided. The worshippers catch hold of these strings and thus create, during the above recital, a kind of contact with the sacred fire from a distance.

feet they place the toe of the right foot over the toe of the left. The ritual is thus described in Gujarati in modern books of the ritual "જોતી તથા રાધવી બંને જના હાથ જોડી પોતાના જમના પગનો અગોઠા ડાબા પગના અગોઠા ઉપર ચઢાવી પરગટ પડે " i.e., Both the Zōtī and the Rādhvī shall join their hands and put the toe of the right foot over the toe of the left, and then pray. The object of joining the two hands and joining the two feet is to indicate sincere devotion એક પગે ખુદાની બદગી કરવી i.e., 'to pray God with (i.e., standing on) one foot,' is the phrase for saying a prayer with all devotion. One cannot join his two feet in a standing position as he would join his two hands. So, the next best way is to place the toe of one foot over the toe of another.

We see a parallel of the Babylonian attitude in the Iranian sculptures of Persipolis and elsewhere (*Vide* Plates XXVII and XXXVI of Kiash's *Ancient Persian Sculptures*). There, in one case, we find the winged flying figure of a king holding a disc (*Avesta* *chakhra*) in his left hand and his right hand extended but palm outward. In another case, the left hand carries, what seems to be, a bundle of *barsam twigs*. This attitude of the hand signifies blessing. Iranian winged figures are associated with *fravashis* or *farohars*, which are the guiding spirits of persons. These *fravashis* are represented as blessing the people of the house where they are invoked (*khshnûtaô âfrinentu ahmâya nmânê Farvardin Yasht Yt XIII, 157*).

The show of hands in favour of propositions in the modern rules and regulations for the proceedings of public meetings seems to be a form of this attitude of hands for blessings. Those who raise their hands in favour of a proposition raise them, as it were, to bless the proposition. The Masonic ritual seems to have preserved this attitude well, because in that craft, the show of hands in favour of propositions is not like that at ordinary meetings but in the attitude of blessing, the right hand extended palm downward.

Now, as to the second component of the above attitude, viz., the raising of the forearm parallel with

(b) The forearm raised parallel with the face palm inward. the face palm inward, which according to Dr Langdon is 'the most ancient attitude of prayer for humans,'—I think, we find a parallel of this attitude in what is observed even now, by the Zoroastrian clergy during the recital of the *Patet* (the prayer for penitence). In practice, the attitude is not observed exactly by all alike, i.e., the arm is not kept parallel to the

Dr Langdon thus refers to another attitude of the hand in the Babylonian worship: "On Fig 2, an attendant

2. The attitude of the right hand extended and the forearm raised parallel to the face *palm inward* brings the animal sacrifice, the reader will observe that this attendant approaches with the right arm extended and the forearm raised parallel with the face *palm inward*. Observe also that the conducting deities approach with disengaged arm, raised in a similar manner *palms inward*: On seal Fig 7 three deities approach the seated grain goddess. The central figure (a goddess) of these three has the most ancient attitude of prayer for humans, the raised hand *palm inward* and the disengaged arm folded at the waist. These are all archaic types extending back to a period as early as 3,500 B.C. From them we conclude that man, when not conducted by a deity, stood in the position of prayer described above. This is apparently the original prayer attitude of prehistoric man in Sumer."

Now, let us see, what have the Iranian materials to say on the subject of this attitude. Herein, we have two attitudes combined into one (a) Extended or outstretched hand and (b) the forearm or the disengaged arm raised parallel with the face *palm inward*.

Among the Assyrians, the phrase "lifting of the hand" for prayers was purely technical and borrowed,

(a) The extended or outstretched hands along with the prayers, from the Babylonians.¹ In the later Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods, there prevailed "the open hand position." During that period, the term for "to pray" was "to open the hands" and not "to raise the hands." But, it seems,—we cannot say positively, because the instances are not many—that according to the Avesta "stretching the hands" was the technical phrase of the Iranians. In practice, the stretching and opening seemed to mean the same thing. The Iranian sculptures seem to support this posture. There are cases of hands "opened" as well as "stretched or raised or uplifted." In the celebration of the liturgical ceremony of the Yaçna, just a little before the commencement of the recital of the Yaçna proper commencing with the first chapter (*nuvâêdhaâyêmi hankârâyêmi*), the two celebrants join their two hands in an outstretched position and recite the prayer of "Frastuyê humatoirhyaschâ", which prayer is spoken of by some as the Patet, i.e. the Penitence prayer of the Avesta. Not only do they join their two hands into an outstretched position but also their feet. To join the

face by all, but some elders of the priestly assembly, in the midst of deep devotion observe it strictly

It is this Babylonian attitude, and it is Dr Langdon's description and explanation of it, that have much interested me and has led me specially to the study of the subject of this paper from an Iranian point of view. Among Zoroastrian religious prayers, there is one, which is called the Patet, i.e., prayer of penitence (Av *patita* from Av *paiti*,—Sans *prati* 𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀓, Lat *re* back, and Av : Sans : 𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀓 Lat *re* to go, a prayer whereby the worshipper goes back to the proper path). While reciting that prayer of penitence Parsees hold up before or parallel to their face their left hand. The prayer takes about 15 minutes to recite and the left hand is during all this time held up before the face. I confess that it is after the perusal of Dr Langdon's paper, that I understood the proper signification of this attitude of the Parsee worshippers' hands. According to Dr Langdon, in some Babylonian seals the posture of the attitude of hands varies. In some cases it is associated with 'penitential prayers.' So I think, that the attitude observed in the Zoroastrian or Parsee Patet or penitentiary prayer is a relic of the old attitude, wherein the worshipper raised his disengaged arm parallel to his face. In practice as said above the attitude is not observed exactly by all alike i.e. the arm is not kept parallel to the face by all but the elders in the priestly assembly observe the attitude strictly and correctly.

There is one peculiarity in the modern Parsee custom, still observed which shows that the forearm must be strictly parallel to the face so that the palm inward portion of the arm may be just before the mouth. That peculiarity consists in covering the palm end portion of the hand with a piece of cloth. A handkerchief, or a sleeve of the upper garment or the shawl in the case if the worshipper is a head priest or Dastur, serves the purpose. In the Babylonian and Assyrian prayer gestures of this kind, we do not see it. Then what is the object of this covering among the Parsees? According to the Zoroastrian health laws the saliva of the mouth being unclean if the hand has touched the saliva of the mouth it must be washed. Now when the worshipper holds during the recital of the prayer, his left forearm *palm inwards* parallel to his face which position places it just opposite to the mouth there is a chance of some particles of the saliva falling on the palm and thus polluting it. I think that it is to protect the palm from this pollution that it is covered with some kind of cloth. This practice of holding some kind of cloth on the inward part of the palm, held parallel to the face and before the mouth, is spoken

hands as they like when the hands are otherwise not engaged in particular attitudes of ritual. In modern Parsee phraseology, this particular attitude of hands is spoken of as "*adab idlvi*," i.e., "to fold the adab", where the word "*adab*" is Arabic *adab* (آداب) meaning "courtesy, politeness." The word has nothing to do with hands, though the words intend an attitude of folding hands. In assemblies of solemnity, gay or sorrowful, like those of funerals or marriage or even in prayer assemblies we see persons here and there sitting with folded hands but that attitude is in no way necessarily connected with any prayer gesture though it signifies a kind of resignation or submission to the will of God.

According to Dr. Langdon, the above attitude of folded hands, latterly gave way 'in favour of the kissing hand (or kiss throw-

The "Kiss hand pose or attitude" at the waist. This widely adopted attitude of Babylonian religion seems to have been introduced by the Semites of the first dynasty

as a simple means of containing the two principle religious poses of the Sumerians. They thus continued the ideas of salutation and humility.¹ The kiss hand pose at one time "prevalent in Greece and Rome" prevailed in Sumeria from the very earliest period. It seems to have come to the Babylonians from the Sumerians, as 'the second great hand movement in religious psychology' and fundamentally conveying "the idea of salutation, greeting, adoration."²

According to Herodotus kissing was a form of salutation among the Iranians of the Achæmenian times. He says: "When they meet one another in the streets, one may discover by the following custom whether those who meet are equals. For instead of accosting one another, they kiss on the mouth, if one be little inferior to the other they kiss the cheek, but if he be of a much lower rank, he prostrates himself before the other."³

But in prayer attitudes the kissing hand posture does not seem to be possible among the Iranians from the standpoint of their view of pollution and sanitation. Whatever comes out from the mouth was polluted and unhealthy. The Parsees generally, even now would not drink from the same cup. The officiating priest, holding the Bareshnum ritual, would not drink even from the same pot, though the pot may not have touched the lip of the previous drinker. If the hand accidentally

¹ J. R. A. S. Oct. 1900 p. 546

² *Ibid* p. 544

³ Herodotus Bk. I 134. Cary's Translation (1889) p. 61

permutations and combinations of the various forms of one and the same custom or attitude or of different customs and attitudes.

It is the left hand which observes the above attitude among the Parsees. In many Zoroastrian rituals, as first, it is the left hand that plays a prominent part, when an attitude is to be continued for some time. The right hand is kept disengaged for various other small observances or performances, *e.g.*, to feed the fire. The holding of the twigs of a particular kind of tree in the ritual of the Yacna was held necessary. These twigs were called *barsam*. The Vendidad (Ch. XIX, 19) enjoins that these sacred twigs must be held in the left hand (*hâvôyn zasta*). In one of the sculptures at Persipolis or Takht-i Jamshed, the king who prays before a fire vase, holds the royal mace (*Av vazra* Pers. *Gurz*) in his right hand and a bunch in his left hand. This bunch seems to be a bunch of the *barsam* twigs (*vide* Plates 25 and 26 in Mr K. D. Kiash's "Ancient Persian Sculptures"). In other sculptures at the same place, where the king holds out his right hand in a prayer gesture, there also the sacred *barsam* twigs are held in the left hand (*Ibid.*, pl. 30).

In the Iranian sculptures it is also the left hand which does the principal work that has to last long. For example, in the case of the winged figures of the praying kings (Plates 36 and 47 of Kiash), it is the left hand that does the continuous work of holding the symbolic disc, or the *barsam* or the bow, and the disengaged right hand that is outstretched, palm sidewise, expresses the attitude of prayer.

Dr Langdon thinks that 'the attitude with hands folded at the waist' was assumed by the Babylonian worshipper in some formal prayers, and it denoted humility, submission and contrition. This attitude is referred to in the Pahlavi *Viraf nâmesh* where it seems to be an attitude of consent and obedience. When Arda Viraf was selected from among many for a journey to the other world, he stood up and folded his hands on his breast (*madam val regalman ikvîmunat va yadman pavan kash* *Lard* Chap I, 36-37). When he was finally selected for the heavenly journey from among the three best by drawing lots, he, as an expression of consent and acceptance, folded his hands upon the waist (*yadman pavân kash vadund* Chap II 21). We see no figures with folded hands in Iranian sculptures. At present you may see priests in prayer assemblies occasionally sitting with folded hands, but with no formal purpose. They fold or unfold the

supposed by Mr Kiash to depict the surrender of the Roman Emperor Valerian to the Iranian King Shapur I, there are two rows of Persian horsemen who all point the index finger of their right hand to their King, while before the King there stand three figures, supposed to be Roman courtiers with both hands extended and opened palm upwards asking forgiveness for a person in fetters before them, supposed to be Valerian (Kiash's Ancient Persian Sculptures, Pl 12) In another sculpture of the same king (*Ibid*, Pl 13), supposed to be a triumphal scene, we see similarly, two rows of horsemen, each of 14 troopers pointing their right hand index finger to the Iranian King In another sculpture (*Ibid*, Pl 39) which seems to be a coronation scene, the King, while receiving from the Mobadân Mobad, the archmagus, the Iranian archbishop, the royal disc or circlet (charkh) with his right hand, holds his left hand closed as in a fist with the pointed thumb before his face This seems to be another pose of the pointed finger attitude It also, like the pointed finger, signifies, obedience, consent, acceptance It seems that persons of lower grade, when they wanted to express a posture of obedience, respect, agreement, or consent, in the presence of their superiors, did so with the index finger But persons of higher rank generally did so with all the five fingers folded as if forming a fist with the thumb pointing a little upward.

Vide the following plates for one or another of the finger or thumb postures expressive of obedience, respect, agreement, etc

- (1) Kiash, Pl 41 Shapur I at Naksh-e Rostam. Index finger by a subordinate standing behind the King
- (2) *Ibid*, Pl 42 Closed fist with the thumb upwards
A Coronation Scene at Naksh-e Rostam
- (3) *Ibid*, Pl 43 Index finger at Naksh-e Rostam Behrâm Gore or Behram V
- (4) *Ibid*, Pl 44 Index finger

(b) Coming to the modern ritual we find that the Parsees, in the recital of their Afringan prayers, recite a section, which is common to all the Afringans and which is in honour of the ruling King of the land The Zoroastrian priests of Persia, during this recital hold up their fingers The Indian Parsee priests, instead of holding up their fingers, hold up a flower in their hands Here, the flower seems to serve the purpose of a finger The flower is held up in the right hand, the arm of which is raised up well nigh parallel to the face

Now, what does the holding up of the finger in Iranian Archaeology and in the Zoroastrian ritual in Persia, or the holding up of the flower as a substitute in the Zoroastrian ritual

touched any moist part of the lips, it was required to be washed. So, the kissing pose of hand in religious ritual or prayers is not observed among the Iranians

In a sculpture at Persipolis (Klâsh, Pl 90) there appears a pose of the hand, which one may very plausibly take to be a kiss-throwing pose, but I think it is another form of the pose of the arm raised parallel to the face palm inward. Had it been a kiss throwing pose, it would have been with the right hand, but it is not so. The pose is that of the left hand though the right hand is disengaged

But a certain pose or attitude of both the hands is prevalent among the Parsees from olden times, which comes somewhat nearer to this attitude, which seems to be akin to what is known as the "Kiss of Peace" among the ancient Hebrews and the early Christians, and which is still prevalent among some Israels. This Hebrew or early Christian Kiss of Peace may have come down from the ancient Babylonian attitude of the kissing hand. This attitude or pose of both the hands is known among the Parsees even now as Hamâzor, wherein one person lets his two hands pass alternately between the two hands of another, and after two passes of that kind, both carry the two hands to the head in the form of a salutation. The Israels and the early Christians did the same thing, but in the end kissed their hands. For details of the Parsee custom I will refer my readers to my Paper entitled "The Kiss of Peace, among the Israels and the Hamâzor among the Zoroastrians" read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay¹

Next to the attitude of the extended hand arm raised parallel to the face, palm inward it is the pointed finger attitude of finger attitude of the hand among the Babylonians referred to by Dr Langdon that has interested me greatly from the Iranian or Parsee point of view. Dr Langdon refers to the "extraordinary pointed finger attitude of the Assyrians as they worshipped before statues and sacred symbols" and says that "it is really the kiss throwing hand arrested in the last stage of the act and thrown with the index finger only"². I will not enter here into the psychology of this attitude and say what it meant among the Babylonians and Assyrians, but proceed to refer to a similar pose among the Iranians, (a) in their sculptures and (b) in their rituals

(a) We find this attitude in several Iranian sculptures. In one of the sculptures at a place named Naksh-e Rostam, which is

¹ Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay Vol VIII pp 84-90. ² *Ibid* *Anthropological Papers, Part I* pp 283-34

supposed by Mr Kiash to depict the surrender of the Roman Emperor Valerian to the Iranian King Shapur I, there are two rows of Persian horsemen who all point the index finger of their right hand to their King, while before the King there stand three figures, supposed to be Roman courtiers with both hands extended and opened palm upwards asking forgiveness for a person in fetters before them supposed to be Valerian (Kiash's Ancient Persian Sculptures, Pl 12) In another sculpture of the same king (*Ibid*, Pl 13), supposed to be a triumphal scene, we see similarly, two rows of horsemen each of 14 troopers pointing their right hand index finger to the Iranian King In another sculpture (*Ibid*, Pl 39) which seems to be a coronation scene, the King, while receiving from the Mobadan Mobad, the archmagus, the Iranian archbishop, the royal disc or circlet (*charkh*) with his right hand, holds his left hand closed as in a fist with the pointed thumb before his face This seems to be another pose of the pointed finger attitude It also, like the pointed finger, signifies, obedience, consent, acceptance It seems that persons of lower grade, when they wanted to express a posture of obedience, respect, agreement, or consent, in the presence of their superiors, did so with the index finger But persons of higher rank generally did so with all the five fingers folded as if forming a fist with the thumb pointing a little upwards

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(b) Coming to the modern rituals we find that the Parsees, in the recital of their Afringan prayers, recite a section, which is common to all the Afringans and which is in honour of the ruling King of the land The Zoroastrian priests of Persia, during this recital hold up their finger The Indian Parsee priests, instead of holding up their fingers, hold up a flower in their hands Here, the flower seems to serve the purpose of a finger The flower is held up in the right hand, the arm of which is raised up well high parallel to the face

Now, what does the holding up of the finger in Iranian Archaeology and in the Zoroastrian ritual in Persia or the holding up of the flower is a substitute in the Zoroastrian ritual

in India signify? It signifies assent, approval, agreement. The particular section of the *Āfringān* (lit the prayer of blessing), invokes God's blessing upon the ruler (*khsbathriya*) of the land. At this recital, all the priests of the prayer assembly raise up their fingers in Persia and flowers in India, to express their heart felt assent and good will in the benediction.

The Tibetans observe the Buddhist religion at present. But their old religion is said to be the Bon religion, some elements of which they have embodied in their religion. Their old Bon religion seems to have come to them from some part of Central Asia where their ancestors may have had a home common with that of the early Iranians. Their custom of the disposal of the dead, which resembles that of the modern Parsees of India and much more resembles that enjoined in the *Vendidad* from which the modern Parsees of India seem to have diverted a little, points to this very early relation. When at Darjeeling in the summer of 1913, I had the pleasure of visiting often three Gumpas or monasteries of the Tibetan Lamas there. My long talks with the Lamas and my study of the works of great writers and travellers of Tibet, like Col Weddel, Rai Sarat Chandra Bahadur, Mons L De Milloue, Mr Rockhill, Dr Sven Hedin and Mons Bonvalot, showed me some points of similarity between some Tibetan and Zoroastrian beliefs and customs. As I said then, I understood some parts of my *Vendidad* better there and then than at home before.

Now these Tibetans have a form of salutation and of expression of assent or approval which resembles the above referred to Zoroastrian form of expressing consent by the raising of a finger. This form is that of raising up their thumbs.

Pulling the thumb up means approval and satisfaction.¹ One way of expressing their thanks is that of lifting up the thumbs. According to Rockhill, "throughout Tibet, to say a thing is very good, they hold up the thumb with the fingers closed and say 'Angetumbo re' i.e., it is the thumb, it is the first. Second class is expressed by holding up the index with the remark 'ange nyiha re,' it is the second." Mr Rockhill says of one part of Tibet "The mode of salutation among the people in this section of the country is novel. They hold out both hands, palms uppermost." This mode of salutation is prevalent among the Mongols also. Rockhill says further on: "The lower classes here, when saluting superiors, are in the habit of bending the knee very low, putting the right hand beside the right cheek and the left hand under the elbow of the right arm, at the same time sticking out the tongue." In one

¹ Across Tibet etc "by Bonvalot, p 93

part of Tibet, according to Mr Sarat Chandra, "it is customary to greet one another with a kiss, and whoever omits a kiss when meeting or parting with an acquaintance is considered rude and unmannerly."¹ In many of the old age beliefs and customs of the Tibetans, who have continued to live in an isolated condition surrounded by lofty mountains, we see a good deal which explains some of the early Babylonian and Iranian forms of belief and salutation.

From all these considerations we see that the finger and thumb attitude as seen in more than one bas-relief of Iranian sculpture was an attitude expressing satisfaction and assent.

In many a ritual of the Church, in almost all communities, there prevails, what we may call, a shortening process. I have referred to it in my Paper on Tibetan rosaries read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay.² There seems to have prevailed the same shortening-process in the matter of the attitude

or pose of hands in prayers. In spite of the shortening process, we see prevailing, side by side, all the various attitudes from the first primitive longest to the latest shortest. From religious gatherings and religious surroundings to social gatherings and social surroundings is one step, though the step may occasionally be long. So, we see many customs prevalent both in Church and Society. From a study of the attitudes of the hand, as referred to in Iranian books, sculptures and ritual, we may draw the following conclusions --

1 The outstretched hands raised a little above, somewhat parallel to the face, palm upwards, pointing heavenwards, was the primitive pose, expressive of imploration of God's help and forgiveness. That was also the posture or pose for asking forgiveness from another person, whether a prince or peer. In an Iranian bas-relief of Darius (Klâsh's Plate 55), a fallen person lying prostrate on the ground face upward, implores forgiveness from the king by raising both his hands and feet upwards, towards the face of the king.

2 The use of one hand in place of two is the next step. It is the first step in the shortening process. When the left hand was occupied in holding a religious symbol like the *barsam* at first, and like the *chakhra* (a wheel, disc or circlet) and bow later on, the right hand only was similarly extended. (Vide the sculptures of Persipolis, Plate 36 of Klâsh, of Behistun, *Ibid.* Pl 55.) These may be said to be very early Avestan or Achæmænian poses.

¹ Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet p 137

² Vol. X pp 139-6 My Anthropological Papers Part II pp 9-109

In ceremonial gatherings like those of large religious congregations or court assemblies, when the left hands held some symbols of authority, for example the bow in the case of Achæmenian kings, the right hand was free for expression of emotions. For example Darius, holding a bow in his left hand, extends his right hand towards the state prisoners before him and, pointing his index finger towards them, tells them some words of caution or advice.

3 The left hand extended and arm raised parallel to the face was the next pose derived from the first pose as the result of the shortening process. One cannot keep both his hands extended as above very long during the recital of a long prayer. So, the left hand came to be so extended but not so much as to fatigue the worshipper. The right hand was kept disengaged for other religious or ordinary purposes, e.g., to feed the sacred fire before the worshipper with sandalwood and frankincense (*ašsam hûi*) or to form a contact with the fire vase during particular recitals or to extend it to the other worshippers to create a sympathetic contact, or to guide others by gestures. When, by this shortening process, the left hand gradually came to be very close to the mouth, in order to avoid pollution, it had to be covered with *padân* or a piece of cloth.

4 Coming to later times, we find the pose of folded hands (*adab*) expressing submission, consent, obedience, etc. For example Ardašir Vîraf folds his hands on his breast to express such an emotion. When you fold your hands you shut off your hands as it were, from any work, you express helplessness and surrender, and hence consent, or obedience. "Fold up hands" was as it were, the older form of later "Hold up hands".

5 This is the case in the matter of voluntary submission. But, in case of compulsory submission both the hands are voluntarily held backwards on the waist at the back or are chained in a similar position. (*Vide Kiasch's Plate 50, where the more rebel princes are made to stand in that position with a common rope passing through the necks of all*.)

Then occasionally, instead of both the hands being folded on the waist, we find one folded and the other working.

6 The pointed finger or thumb pose seems to be a much later form. Instead of both the hands or of one hand being used in supplication, there came in the use of one finger. Of course, in the shortening process, there came in also some additional signification. In a sculpture at Hermanshah supposed to be a coronation scene, there is a picture, supposed to be that of a Zoroastrian, where the person instead of pointing his hands

or hand seems to point his wand towards God. In some later varieties of that picture, we see the person pointing towards Heaven with his finger.

We find some prayer attitudes of hands in the Sassanian coins. (a) We find the attitude of arm raised parallel to the face palm inward in some of the coins. For example, in the coin of Varahran II (Nos. 3 and 5 of Plates IV of Longperier's *Essai sur les Médailles des Rois Perses de la Dynastie Sassanide*). The worshipper, who is the king himself, stands before the altar of the Sacred Fire in that posture, while on the other side of the altar stands the fire priest holding up a *chakhra* (disc or circlet), an emblem of royalty or royal authority, in the attitude of placing it on the fire. I think it is actually a *chakhra* or circlet of sandal wood or some other fragrant wood, that the fire priest (*Āthravan*, the Iranian Flame) is placing on the fire. He receives it from the royal worshipper who brings it as an offering before the Sacred Fire and hands it to the priest whose function is to feed the fire.

In the modern ritual of feeding the Sacred fire of the *Ātash Behram*, the Fire temple of the first grade—the ritual known as *bū dādan* *بوی دادن*, to give fragrant fuel the priest goes round the fire vase in a particular enjoined way.¹ The ritual is now spoken of as '*chak farvo*'. I think, that possibly, the word *chak* may be a corrupted form of *chakhra*, and so, the above words of the ritual may mean 'to go round in a circle (round the fire)'. The modern ritual of *māchi* over the sacred fire is another form of offering fragrant fuel in the form of a royal disc. The modern *machi* (lit a throne, a seat) is in the form of a throne arranged by placing six or seven pieces of sandal wood.

(b) Another hand posture which we observe on the Sassanian coins is that of both the worshipping king and the serving fire priest, holding some long stick like forms (Ibid Nos. 1, 2 and 4). They may be metallic ladles. One cannot understand why their faces are not turned towards the fire but away from the fire, when they hold the ladle. It is true that even now in the modern ritual of feeding the sacred fire in one part of the recital of the *Ātash nyaish*—the recital of the '*Dadar gehān dīn* : *Mazda yaçni*, etc., formula the worshipper has to turn to the south. But one cannot understand why is it generally so in the case of the worshippers with the ladles or sticks in their hands.

¹ Vide my Paper on Consecration Ceremonies before the Anthropological Society Journal, Vol. XI p. 51.

(c) In some later coins (Varaharan III, Narsec, Hormisdas II and others, Ibid Plate V Nos 1 to 5 and Plot VI) the ladles are short. Here the picture of the ladles is like that of the hand raised parallel to the face. The ladles or metallic sticks seem to replace the hand posture. This is very clearly marked in the case of the coins of Artaxerxes II and Shapur III (Ibid Pl VII). In some coins, the royal worshipper has a short ladle while the priest has a long one.

In the case of a coin of Chosroes I, we find the picture of folded hands (Ibid Pl X 4).

In the case of short ladles in some coins, they are held up from the waist upwards, and in others, they are rested on the ground. The latter is the posture in which one can now see, at times, Parsee priests standing before the fire.

The above different postures can also be studied from Thomas's 'Numismatic and other Antiquarian Illustrations of the Rule of the Sassanians in Persia (1873)'

In all the above attitudes, I have referred to the Iranian attitudes or prayer gestures of hand, wherein God or the Higher Intelligences or Higher Powers are appealed to or implored. But, there are certain attitudes which express emotions of disgust or detestation of what is bad or evil. I will conclude my Paper with a few words on these attitudes. Some of these prayers for these expressions of detestation are later. They are not in the original Avesta, but are in later Pazend. They are more of what we call incantations for the removal of evils of all sorts including the pest of noxious animals like serpents, snakes, wolves, cats, rats, etc. In the Vanant Yasht, there are incantations of that kind, and the later ritual enjoins that during their recital the worshipper must strike the palm of one hand (the left hand) with the other hand—at one part of the recital once, at another part twice, and at three other parts thrice.

In other similar incantations and in various parts of the Avesta where the name of Angra Mainyu, the Ahriman or the Evil Power is mentioned or where evil influences or powers are referred to the worshipper puts the thumb of his right hand over the central finger and gives it a snap so as to produce a sound, spoken of in modern phraseology as *tackaldi* or snapping. The same emotion is expressed by an outward motion of the right hand palm inwards expressing an idea of repulsion.

*A Visit to the Great Wall of China.
A Similar Wall of King Noshirwân
(Chosroes I) of Persia.*

READ ON 20TH APRIL 1923

Last year (1922), I had the pleasure and honour of representing this Society and four¹ other Societies and Institutions at the second Oriental Conference, held in the end of January at Calcutta. From Calcutta I had gone to Burma, the Strait Settlements of Singapore and Penang, French Indo China, China and Japan. In my itinerary, I had included the world-known Great Wall of China, which had influenced the history of many ancient countries. I had the pleasure of visiting it on 1st April 1922. It was one of the dreams of my life to see this Great Wall, the construction of which was a landmark, not only in the history of China but also in the history of the then known world. Being the realization of one of the dreams of my life, I take my visit of it in the evening of my life as a landmark in the history of my life. The object of this paper is (I) to give a brief description of my visit of the wall and of my impressions, and (II) to speak of a similar, though smaller, wall, built about 800 years later in the West, near the Caspian Sea, by Anoushirawân or Noshirwân (Chosroes I) of Persia, who like Justinian, his contemporary of Rome, was known as Noshirwân *adal*, i.e., the Just, and of whose justice his another contemporary, Mahomed, the great Prophet of Arabia, is reported to have said, that he considered himself very fortunate that he was born under the sovereignty of a just prince like Noshirwân. I speak of Noshirwan's wall as a wall similar to that of the Great Wall of China, because like the great wall, it was built to keep away the inroads of a people, who were the descendants of an offshoot of the great people against whom the Chinese wall was built.

¹ The University of Bombay, the Anthropological Society of Bombay, the Cama Oriental Institute and the Jyotirishi Dhanu Chhatra Mahavidyalaya.

year (1st April) when we crossed the Nankou pass by train and the weather here was cool. We saw snow here and there on some parts of the hills and also in some crevices down below. We began seeing the great Wall with its watch towers here and there from the train. We saw from the train the old caravan route running in a zig zag line here and there. We got down from the train at the Chung lung chiao station, and from there about half an hour's walk of gradual ascent takes us to the top of a part of the wall. It was 12.10 when I placed my foot upon this historical wall and the first words I wrote then with a glad heart in my note book were 'शुक्ररात्रि दशम' '३८' 'देवु आम्हि तिमरे मने आ तवारीणी दीवालपर लाये' i.e., 'I am grateful to Thee, O God! that you brought me at this age on this Historic Wall.'

The wall had watch towers at some distances, and here and there there were rooms beneath the floor which may be godowns or store rooms for military requisites. The wind was blowing terribly strong on the top of the Wall, and, though it was mid-day and I had an overcoat on my body, it seemed to pierce through. Leaving my friends, I proceeded a few hundred yards further and it was a grand and glorious sight from there to see the noble wall rising and falling over precipices in a wilderness. Looking on your right and on your left, in your front and on your back, you can cast your physical eyes to long distances of space, and your mental eyes to long vistas of time—past ages which had now and then kings in China, as noble as in any other parts of the world, who thought more of their subjects than of themselves. I would have liked to stay or sit longer on this awe inspiring wall in the wilderness and to meditate there on the ups and downs of Empires. But there was not much time to indulge in that luxury, and once more thanking God, I left the wall, full of joy for having seen this great piece of the work of Man inspired by God. When I say, that I saw the great Wall of China and realized a dream of my life, I say, that I saw only a very small part of the great wall which extended through a large tract of the country. We had a second look at the Great Wall from a distance from the train on the 3rd of April 1922 at about 5.15 p.m. when we were on our way to Japan via Fengtien or Mukden. From the Chun Wang tao station, we saw the Wall on our left. The wall commenced from Shanhaikuan at the Gulf of Pechili close by, which has a great harbour. But the distant view from here was not sufficiently impressive. That at the Nankou pass was one, which, as said by a traveller, "once seen, can never be effaced from the memory".¹ As said by another writer,

¹ Charles E. D. Black in the *Calcutta Review* of January 1903 p. 31

"It is one of the few great sights of the world that is not disappointing. It grows upon me hour by hour and from the incredible it becomes credible"¹

The wall is said to be 1,500 miles long. The most accessible part of it is that at the Nankou Pass. Its height varies from 20 to 50 feet. In some parts of it, at the distance of every 200 yards, there are watch towers about 40 feet high. Some of these towers, in addition to being watch towers for the sentries served also as places for hurling stones towards the enemies. The base of the towers varied from 15 to 25 feet in thickness. It was 12 feet at the summit. In some parts the wall is about 4,000 feet high from the sea level. Wherever it was more exposed to the marauding tribes, it was built of solid masonry. General Grant of America is said to have estimated, that the wall "took as much work as would have built all our (American) railroads, all our canals and nearly all our cities".² Another writer estimates the use of materials in its construction as follows—"To give another idea of the mass of matter in the stupendous fabric, it may be observed that it is more than sufficient to surround the circumference of the earth at two of its greatest circles with two walls, each six feet high and two feet thick. It is to be understood that in the calculation is included the earthy part of the midst of the Wall."³

It is said, that about 30 lacs of men were engaged by the King in building this Great Wall. As the marauders, against whom the wall was being built, were likely to harass, and actually harassed, these builders who all were spread along a long line of the wall, an army of three lacs of men was required to protect the builders from harm. It is said on some authority that forced labour of 7,00,000 men⁴ was employed over it.

The Great Wall separates, as said by Mr Geil⁵ two lands of the East the Cold North and the Summer South. It also separates two great races—"the outward flowing white race of the North and the black haired race on the south now known as the Yellow race". In the same way, it separates two epochs in

¹ Miss Eliza Sch dmore, as quoted by the above writer Ibid p 36

² The Great Wall of China by William Edgar Oell

³ Calcutta Review of January 1903 p 41

⁴ It is said of the Emperor who built it that he had employed 7,00,000 eunuchs on the work of building his palaces. The eunuchs were castrated criminals whose crimes were lesser than those that deserved the punishment of death or of maiming such as chopping off of feet or siling of knees (Ancient China simplified by Prof Parker, p 119a)

⁵ The Great Wall of China by William Edgar Oell

We have often heard of the Seven Wonders of the ancient World¹. The Westerners, or, to speak more correctly at present, the Middle Westerners of the ancient times, looked for their Wonders, only to the countries round the Mediterranean, which was more intimately known to them, and they did not include the Great Wall of the furthest East among their seven wonders, as they had hardly any opportunity to see it. It is not from any architectural point of view, but from the point of view of the great enterprise and its great length and also from the point of view of the great and noble thought of the safety of his people which led to its structure by the King of China, that one can include the Great Wall in the list of wonders. Dr. Edgar J. Banks, in his "Seven Wonders of the Ancient World" very properly says that "it is a common weakness of modern man to imagine that his own age and his own country have progressed beyond all others." But imagine a continuous wall of the length of 1,500 miles, of the width of about 12 feet at the top with 200 towers here and there across its whole length, built in a kind of wilderness of wildernesses, rising and falling over mountains and into valleys, and think, that the great wall was built by a great king of the remote past for securing the safety of his people from the frequent inroads of hordes of marauders and you will then, I think, admit that it must be a wonderful piece of work by a wonderful man, wonderfully solicitous for the good of his country.

Some speak of the Himalayas, the Great Wall of China and the Pyramids as the three greatest Wonders of the World. Of these three, one the Pyramids are colossal mausoleums, which one may say, are not of any practical utility. But think of the great practical purpose, the long wall of Nature, the Himalayas, has served in defending the extensive frontiers of India on the North, and from that, you can form an idea of the great purpose which the Wall of China has served in keeping off the inroads of marauding tribes into China. Fortunately, I have the pleasure of visiting all these three great wonders and I am in a position to form a clear idea of the purposes they have served. From the point of view with which it was built and from the fact of its being built in a wilderness the Wall of China is very

1 The following are generally held to be the seven Wonders —

1 The Pyramids of Egypt especially that of Cheops, built about 2000 B. C.

2 The Wall and Hanging Gardens of Babylon from about 605 to 562 B. C.

3 The Statue of Olympian Zeus by Phidias about 450 to 430 B. C.

4 The Temple of Diana at Ephesus about 350 B. C.

5 The Mausoleum or tomb of King Mausolus of Caria erected by his widow Artemesia about 353 B. C.

6 The Colossus of Rhodes about 280 B. C.

7 The Pharos or Watch tower of Alexandria about 240 B. C.

"It is one of the few great sights of the world that is not disappointing. It grows upon me hour by hour and from the incredible it becomes credible."¹

The wall is said to be 1,500 miles long. The most accessible part of it is that at the Naokou Pass. Its height varies from 20 to 50 feet. In some parts of it, at the distance of every 200 yards, there are watch-towers about 40 feet high. Some of these towers, in addition to being watch-towers for the sentries, served also as places for hurling stones towards the enemies. The base of the towers varied from 15 to 25 feet in thickness. It was 12 feet at the summit. In some parts, the wall is about 4,000 feet high from the sea level. Wherever it was more exposed to the marauding tribes, it was built of solid masonry. General Grant of America is said to have estimated, that the wall "took as much work as would have built all our (American) railroads, all our canals and nearly all our cities."² Another writer estimates the use of materials in its construction as follows:—"To give another idea of the mass of matter in the stupendous fabric, it may be observed that it is more than sufficient to surround the circumference of the earth at two of its greatest circles with two walls, each six feet high and two feet thick. It is to be understood that in the calculation is included the earthy part of the midst of the Wall."³

It is said, that about 30 lacs of men were engaged by the king in building this Great Wall. As the marauders, against whom the wall was being built, were likely to harass, and actually harassed, these builders who all were spread along a long line of the wall, an army of three lacs of men was required to protect the builders from harm. It is said on some authority that forced labour of 7,00,000 men⁴ was employed over it.

The Great Wall separates, as said by Mr. Geil,⁵ two lands of the East, the Cold North and the Summer South. It also separates two great races—"the outward flowing white race of the North and the black-haired race on the south, now known as the Yellow race." In the same way, it separates two epochs in

¹ Miss Eliza Schidmore as quoted by the above writer, *ibid* p. 36

² *The Great Wall of China* by William Edgar Geil

³ *Calcutta Review* of January 1903, p. 41

⁴ It is said of the Emperor who built it that he had employed 7,00,000 eunuchs on the work of building his palaces. The eunuchs were castrated criminals whose crimes were lesser than those that deserved the punishment of death or of maiming, such as chopping off of feet or slicing of knees. (Ancient China simplified, by Prof. Parker, p. 119a)

⁵ "The Great Wall of China" by William Edgar Geil

year (1st April) when we crossed the Nankou pass by train and the weather here was cool. We saw snow here and there on some parts of the hills and also in some crevices down below. We began seeing the great Wall with its watch-towers here and there from the train. We saw from the train the old caravan route running in a zig-zag line here and there. We got down from the train at the Chiag-lung-chiao station, and from there, about half an hour's walk of gradual ascent takes us to the top of a part of the wall. It was 12-10 when I placed my foot upon this historical wall, and the first words I wrote then with a glad heart in my note-book were "शुक्राना दधर! हे दे आम्हि जिमेरे मने आ तवारीप्पी निवालपर लाव्हे." i.e., "I am grateful to Thee, O God! that you brought me at this age on this Historic Wall."

The wall had watch-towers at some distances, and here and there, there were rooms beneath the floor which may be godowns or store-rooms for military requisites. The wind was blowing terribly strong on the top of the Wall, and, though it was mild day and I had an overcoat on my body, it seemed to pierce through. Leaving my friends, I proceeded a few hundred yards further and it was a grand and glorious sight from there, to see the noble wall rising and falling over precipices in a wilderness. Looking on your right and on your left, in your front and on your back, you can cast your physical eyes in long distances of space, and your mental eyes to long vistas of time—past ages which had now and then kings in China, as noble as in any other parts of the world, who thought more of their subjects than of themselves. I would have liked to stay or sit longer on this awe-inspiring wall in the wilderness and to meditate there on the ups and downs of Empires. But there was not much time to indulge in that luxury, and, once more thanking God, I left the wall, full of joy for having seen this great piece of the work of Man inspired by God. When I say, that I saw the great Wall of China and realized a dream of my life, I say, that I saw only a very small part of the great wall which extended through a large tract of the country. We had a second look at the Great Wall from a distance, from the train on the 3rd of April 1922 at about 5-15 p.m. when we were on our way to Japan via Fengtien or Mukden. From the Chin-Wang-tao station, we saw the Wall on our left. The wall commenced from Shanhai-kuan at the Gulf of Pechili close by, which has a great harbour. But the distant view from here was not sufficiently impressive. That at the Nankou pass was one, which, as said by a traveller, "once seen, can never be effaced from the memory." As said by another writer,

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⁵ "The Great Wall of China" by William Edgar Oell

the history of China—the Mythical age and the Historical age. The History of China is divided into four periods —1 The most Ancient period 2 The Ancient period (255 207 B C) 3 The Middle period and 4 The Modern period. Out of these four, the Great Wall divides the first two periods, and, "as the greatest monument of human industry, it has a noble history."

The pre historic or semi mythical history of China begins at about 2500 B C when China, under its three successive rulers is said to have passed into a stage of civilization. During this period, marriage was instituted, animals were domesticated, agriculture taught, medical art founded with the use of herbs, cities were founded, time began to be regularly counted and calendars formed, communication between cities was carried by boats on rivers and by carts on land, and silk industry commenced. Before this time, language, as it were, consisted of expression of thoughts by means of knots tied on strings but during this period picture writing began, which, later on developed into the modern system of Chinese ideographs.

The next set of rulers of China after the first batch of the above three kings and their successors, were known for the great engineering works in connection with the regulation of floods, one of which is said to have been as large as the great Deluge of the Bible in Mesopotamia. The flood period lasted for about 9 years and was ended by the construction of canals, the engineering feat of some of which is said to be as great as that of the Panama canal. One of these rulers Yu is known as the great canal builder (2205 B C).

Then reigned the Shang (Tang) or Yin dynasty (1766 1122 B C) which was followed by the Chou (or Chow) dynasty, founded by Wu Wang who established a kind of feudal system in China by granting portions of the kingdom to his supporters. The rule of this dynasty was the longest in China (1122 to 249 B C). The proper historical history of China begins with the rule of this dynasty. The three great Chinese philosophers Confucius Mencius and Taotze were born during the rule of this dynasty. The feudal system of this dynasty weakened China after a number of years when the feudal princes grew strong and weakened the central power. So, a powerful nobleman of the country, named Shih Hwang (or Hwang) ti, spoken of as the Napoleon of China founded in 221 B C, a new regime of the Tsin or Chin dynasty. This was as it were the foundation of China as a great united Empire, which continued as an empire, though under different dynasties.

and though now and then divided for short periods between rival rulers, for a long period of about 2,000 years, till it was overthrown in the beginning of this century and a Republic formed. Hwang ti, the founder of the Empire was a powerful man. When he found, that a number of people preferred the former Fendal system, and that scholars pointed for their authority for the advantages of that system to previous literature, he ordered the destruction by fire of all old literature which referred to old tradition. This was a great black spot on the brilliant life of this great man. He destroyed extensive libraries of old books formed by successive previous rulers of China, saving only scientific books on medicine, astrology, and husbandry and books on divination. He also buried alive a number of literary scholars who quoted old books in favour of the ancient rulers and against the then rulers. His name has therefore been condemned by later Chinese writers. He was to China what Alexander the Great was to ancient Iran, in the matter of destroying the country's old libraries, with this difference, that Alexander was a foreigner but Hwang ti was a son of the soil. His name was cursed by the Chinese, as that of Alexander by the Persians. It was this king, who began building the Great China Wall in 214 B.C. to defend his country against the northern Tartars who formed a tribe of the great Hun nation. He entrusted his General Ming tien with this great work. Chinese trade with Persia and, further on, with Rome flourished in the reign of this king. It was this great ruler Hwang ti, who, from the name Tsin, where he was born and lived gave his dynasty the name of Tsin or Chin, which dynasty, in its turn, gave the country its later name of Chin or China.¹

One may perhaps say from the above act of the Emperor that he was altogether opposed to education. But no, from his point of view of the good of the country, his quarrel was, to speak in our modern style of speech, a quarrel with the Humanists, who are believed to be attaching too much importance to the Classics. He was, as it were, an anti humanist, an extreme anti classic of the worst type. But while he tried to destroy the old Chinese Classics, he attempted to liberalize general education. He wanted to introduce a style of writing by which books can be easily composed by the writers and understood by the readers. From this point of view, Mr W. E. Gladstone places him in the rank of Peter the Great, Alfred the Great and even Bismark. He cared less for the few learned and more for enlightened commonalty.

¹ His dynasty was overthrown by the Han dynasty whose founder was of China what Artaxerxes (Artaxerxes) Darius was to Iran—the restorer of its ancient literature and encourager of learning. It was he with whom commenced the well-known Chinese system of literary examinations for the civil service of China.

What is said of this Great Emperor who huilt the Great Wall of China, reminds us of what we are told of Chandragupta, the father of Asoka. It is said, that Chandragupta was so much afraid of his enemies who looked at his rise with jealousy, that, to keep them off their watch, he did not sleep in one and the same palace every night, and that, in the same palace also, he slept in different rooms during the different parts of night. Similarly, it is said of the Chinese king, that powerful as he had become after uniting the different kingdoms, he was not afraid of human beings, but was afraid of evil spirits who he imagined, pursued him. So, in order to throw them off their scent, he slept each night in the different rooms of his great palace consisting of about 1,000 bed rooms. He huilt the wall to keep off the ancient Tartars of the Hun nation. But, by what is spoken of as "an irony of fate," the dynasty of the same Monchin Tartars recently ruled over China, till overthrown by the formation of the Republic. To emphasize this change all the Chinese got their long hair cut off.

The building of this great wall of China spoken of by the Chinese as *Chang Chung*, i.e., the Great Wall, was preceded as said above, by some walls on a smaller scale, here and there. M. Deguignes, in his *History of the Huns*, thus refers to the previous walls. "China was desolated since a long time, by the incursions made by the Tartars living on the North. Several small kings had erected a long wall on their frontiers to stop them. Tebing van having become the master of the Empire joined them together and constructed one in his ancient country of Tsin, that which formed what we now call the Great Wall of which he was not entirely the author as several writers of Europe have written." M. Deguignes says, that one may regard this wall huilt to check the Huns as one of the Wonders of the World (*une des merveilles du monde*) :

The Great Wall affected the history of the whole world. It is generally and, to a certain extent properly believed that the downfall of the Roman Empire in the 5th Century was due to the eruption of the Teutonic tribes into Roman territories. But the cause which led the Germanic hordes to drive towards the Roman territories was the movement of the Hun tribes of Central Asia. The ancestors of these tribes

The effect of the Great Wall upon the history of the world
 1 I give my translation from "*Histoire Générale des Huns*" par M. Deguignes.
 (1756) Tome I Partie I p. 19
 1 (ibid) Tome I Partie II p. 19

were, for a long number of years, invading the different countries of the East and among these, the country of China. The Chinese Emperor having built in the 3rd Century B C, the Great Wall for the defence of the Chinese Empire against the Huns, the latter turned towards the West. Though there was the interval of nearly eight centuries between the time (the 3rd Century B C) when the Great Wall was built and the time (5th Century A C) when the Roman Empire fell, one can well trace the influence of the Great Wall upon the Roman Empire. A great event in history exerts its influence for a number of years, both in the country itself and outside of it. The particular tribes of the Huns who were repulsed from China by the construction of the Great Wall turned back and fell upon the Yuechi tribes who were in front of them and drove them further back. The latter in their turn fell upon the Ut-Suivi tribes and drove them back. The latter again fell upon the Soythic tribes which had extended up to the Caspian sea and so on.

In my paper on "The Early History of the Huns and their inroads in India and Persia" before this Society, I have dwelt at some length on the influence of this great wall, upon the History of China, Rome, India and Persia. In my paper on "The Hunas in Avesta and Pahlavi" in the R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume (pp 65-80), I have touched in passing the question as to who the King was, who defeated and put an end to the Hunan supremacy in India—Was he Yashodharma (Vikramaditya) or Baladitya? In this controversy, the history of Persia is appealed to, and I have ventured to believe "that the credit of the defeat of the Huns belongs to Yashodharma." I will not enter here into the great question of the influence of the Great Wall on the History of the then known world, but pass on, referring my readers to the above papers for details.

The ancient Huns who harassed China were divided into various tribes, known under different names in different countries and at different times. These tribes had as it were, a continuous war with the Iranians, down from, what may be termed, the prehistoric times of the Kayanian dynasty to well nigh the end of the Sassanian dynasty. Just as it was Yashodharma who broke the power of the Huns in India, it was Noshirwân (Chosroes I) who broke their power against Persia. They had some fight with the successors of Noshirwân, but their power was greatly broken by Noshirwân. This brings us to the second part of my paper, the Wall built by Noshirwân against the Khazars who were a tribe or an offshoot of the Huns.

II

THE WALL OF NOSHIRWÂN OF PERSIA.

About 750 years after the above Chinese Wnll, Nosbirwân of Persia (Chosroes I, 531-579 A C), built a similar wall to protect his people living on the Caspian shores from the inroads of the tribes whose ancestors had knocked often at the gates of China and who were prevented by the Great Wall from entering China. As said above, I speak of Noshirwân's wall as a similar wall, not on account of its extent, because it was very small in comparison, but on account of the association of events. It also was, like the Great Wall of China, built against the Huns. Just as the great wall of China begins from the sea at the Gulf of Pechili Noshirwân's wall began from the Caspian Sea at Darband. Like the Chinese wall, it ran across mountains—mountains of the Caucasus range—and valleys and is said to have extended upto the Black Sea. Just as our Himalayas form a kind of natural bulwark against invaders from the North, the Caucasus formed a bulwark running across the regions between the Caspian Sea on the East and the Black Sea on the West. The mountains were crossed by two passes, one inland, known as the Darial Pass, and the other, close to the Caspian at Derbend, known as the Derbend Pass. In fact, the latter cannot strictly be called a Pass because it was a gap between the mountain and the Caspian. The latter was very important, and, as the old name of the place, Bab al-abwâb (door of doors), and the modern name Darband (the closed door) signify, it was the Door of Doors or Gate of Gates for the people coming to Persia from the North. Prof. Jackson¹ speaks of it as the "Key to Persia," and says, that when Peter the Great of Persia returned to his country after his conquest of a part of Persia, he carried with him as a souvenir "the keys of the city of Derbend." The ancient Romans spoke of the Pass or Gate as Caspiæ Portæ, i.e., the Caspian Gates. Several Arab and Mahomedan writers have referred to this work of Noshirwân. Maçoudî², who lived in the early part of the 10th Century, was one of these

Maçoudî, in his Chapter on Mount Caucasus (Chap. XVII) spo-

The wall of Noshirwân accord-
ing to Maçoudî
ken of as El-Kabkh (القبح), while speaking of
the city of Bâb-el-Ahwâb (Darband), describes
the wall built by Kosroe Aneushirawân
(کسری انوشروان) from sea to sea, to keep off the Khazars,

¹ From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayâm, p. 60.

² Maçoudî was born at the end of the 9th Century at Baghdad. He travelled in India in 912-18 A. C. upto Multan. He was again in India at Cambay in 915-16. Thence he went to Ceylon and then to Madagascar. He had travelled on the shores of the Caspian. He died in Egypt in 966-67.

the Allans, the Turcs, the Serirs and other tribes, who were the offshoots of the great people known under the general name of Huns. He says that "the Caucasus contained a number of tribes, about seventy-two in the least, each ruled by a separate chief and speaking a separate language. Noushîrwân built, at the head of one of the defiles of this mountain the city of Bâb el Ahwâb (Lat. Gate of Gates), the city latterly known as Darband, which is situated at the foot of the Caucasus, on the Caspian Sea known as the Sea of the Khazars (بحر الخزر). He also built a large extensive wall which began from about a mile in the sea, and then, ascending lofty mountains and descending deep valleys, ran for 40 pharsangs,¹ ending at a place called Tabarestân. This length of 40 farsangs means the distance of about 120 or 160 miles. At the distance of every three miles or nearly three miles according to the importance of the road over which it opened, he placed an iron door near which he installed from the inside of the place a tribe of people to watch it (the gate) and the wall. This rampart was to present an insurmountable barrier to the attacks of the neighbouring tribes of Kabkh (كبخ), such as the Khazars, the Allans, the Turcs, the Serirs and other infidel people (انواع الكفار). In order to visit the craggy summits of the mountains of Kabkh and to run over their length and breadth, it required two months or more. The tribes inhabiting the mountain were so numerous that God alone can count them. One of the defiles of the mountain ended at the shore of the Caspian near Bâb el Ahwâb and another at the sea of Mayâtis (بحر مايطس), where lies the canal of Constantinople (قسطنطينية). Over this sea (Caspian) also stands Trehuzend, a centre of trade. Noushîrwân settled the territories of all the above tribes with chiefs ruling over them just as Ardeshr, the son of Babak had done before him in the case of the princes of Khorasan. One of such territories was Shirwân (شروان) the chief of which was called Shirwân shâh (شروان شاه).² This territory, according to Maçoudî was ruled over, in his time, by Mahomed son of Yazed who traced his descent from Behramgôn, from whom the chief of the Serirs (سرى) also traced his descent. The chief of Khorassan at the time of

¹ A Farsang corresponds to a league i.e. three miles (Steingass). According to Wellston it is a league and three quarters i.e. it comes to about 4 miles. According to Herodotus (Bk V 53) an Iranian farsang was equal to 30 stades ("stadia or furlongs") i.e. 3½ miles. (According to Webster stadium was a Greek as well as a Roman measure. It was equal to 600 Greek or 62½ Roman feet or 17½ Roman paces or to English 606 feet 9 inches). According to Strabo some took a farsang to measure 40 stades and others 60 stades. According to the Fahlavi Zadsparam (Chapt VI § 8 B. E. Vol V p. 10) also, a farsang comes to about 20 000 feet i.e. 30 furlongs.

² In this account I have followed the translation of Maçoudî by Barbier De-Meynard et Pavet de Courteille Vol. II, pp. 1 et seq.

Maqoudi, was named Ismail, son of Ahmed. He also traced his descent from Behramgour.¹

Later on, Maqoudi says of this wall that, "had not God by his rare sagacity, his all power, and his love for his people, helped with his grace the sovereigns of Persia in the foundation of the city of Bab el-Abwab, in the construction of this wall, which extends over the continent (i.e., over land), in the sea and over mountains, in the erection of different fortresses and in the establishment of several colonies subject to the regularly constituted powers, there is no doubt, that the Kings of Khazars, the Allans, the Serirs, the Turks would have invaded the territories of Berdeh, (برده), Er-Rân (آران) Bulaqân, Azarbâyân, Zenjân, Abhar, Kazwîn, Hamdan, Dînar, Nehavend and other countries which, viz. Kofeh and Basra, gave entrance into Irak. Fortunately, God has opposed to their barbarities these barriers which are necessary to day more than ever when the power of Islam gets feeble and declines, when the Greeks rail at the Musulmans, when the custom of pilgrimage falls into disuse, when one does no more hear of sacred war (*jihad*), when the communications are interrupted and the roads are hardly safe—to day (332 Hiji) when the different chiefs of the Mahomedan countries have isolated themselves and have made themselves independent in their governments, imitating in that (matter) the conduct of the satraps (ملوك الطوائف) after the death of Alexander upto the time of Ardeshir son of Bahak, son of Sassân, who re-established the unity of the kingdom, caused the internal divisions to cease, and gave security to the people and culture to the country."² The wall according to Maqoudi, was called Sour et Tien (سور التين) i.e., wall of mortar.

After Maqoudi, Firdousi is the next known author who refers Firdousi on to the Wall of Noshirwan. He speaks of Noshirwan's Wall it under the head of —
گش نوسهروان گرد پادشاهی خود و دیوار برآوردن برای گذار

¹ Among one of the pagan tribes of this district there was prevalent in the time of Maqoudi, the custom of what we call Satee in India. Maqoudi thus speaks of the custom "They burn their dead by placing over the same funeral pile their beasts of burden, their arms and their dress. When a man dies his wife is burnt alive with him, but if a woman dies first the husband does not submit himself to the same fate. When one dies unmarried they give him a wife after his death. Women desire ardently to be burnt with their husbands to enter with them into paradise (*al Jannat*). This custom as we have already remarked has prevailed in India where the wife is burnt with her husband only when she consents." Vol II p 9

² Maqoudi par Barbier de Meynard Vol. II pp 73

³ Arab *sural* سورت "A row of stones in a wall a structure" and (سور) clay or mortar. According to Prof Jackson the Armenians speak of the Pass across which the wall runs as Pehak Soral i.e. the wall (saur) of protection. (From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam p 61 n 3)

ایران و توران : e, "Noshirwan's travels within his kingdom and his constructing a wall on the route of passage between Iran and Turan" According to *Firdousi*, Noshirwan, after ascending his throne went on a tour in his dominions. His heralds shouted to the people wherever he went and inquired if the subjects had anything to say to their sovereign. During this tour, he passed from Gurgan through the country (of Mazendaran) where are situated the towns of Sari and Amoul. The country was very beautiful and he praised God for the creation of such a beautiful land. One of his subjects there said to the king, that the vicinity of the Turcs, who passed that way was a bar to their happiness of living in such a beautiful place. They often came there and plundered the country. The people there, therefore prayed to the king to relieve them from these frequent inroads. The king sympathised with them. He ordered skilful architects from other countries and got a wall built there under the supervision of an old Mobad.

According to *Yaqout* ² the city of el Bab (i.e., the Porte or gate) or Bab el Abwâh (the Gate of Gates), behind which Noshirwan had built the above wall was latterly known as Darband (i.e., the Bar of a Door) or Darband Schirwan. Across the two necks of land which form the entrance of the port of the city they had put up barriers to make the entrance very narrow,

دستور فرمود کرد و روم	دست نام باشد آباد دوم
و در کشوری مردم بدش دس	که اسناد نانی بدش بر گرس
یکی ناره از آب در کش داد	نیش بهن و بالای اوده کبد
سنگ و بصا روح از ژری آب	بر آورده دا چ شمه آفتاب
همانا کسری گوته مبارم بد	ردسمن نابان بداد گرد
بداد که باشد کسی رس درج	دده هر چه حوا بد و بدشای گنج
کشاور و دهقان و مرد ژاد	بداد که آزار بداد ر باد
یکی بد فرمودند آن کار کرد	بدانلی هم بدش دیوار کرد
دری بر بهادند از آهن بری	دبره نکران بدش آردم گری
هم روی کشور نگهدارن شد	حوا من سد اردش لشکر در د

Meca & Calcutta Edition Vol III p 1630 M Mohl's small edition of *Le Livre des Rois* Vol VI pp 144 45
¹ *Dictionnaire Géographique Historique et Littéraire de la Perse* par C. Barbier de Meynard (1851), p 68. *Yaqout* was born in 1175 A.C.

and two strong and long chains closed the entrance of sb into the port without authority Yagout thus refers to wall running from behind this city. "Above the city is stone wall which extends over the mountain in the direction its length, it is difficult to enter by that way the Mussulm countries on account of the difficulty of the routes and the narrow paths which lead to it Besides this, a part of the wall advances into the city in the form of a promontory and prevents the ships from approaching It is built very solid and rests upon strong strata It is Noushirwân who is the builder of it 1. . . . The ancient Kousroes (Kings) never lost sight of this frontier and omitted nothing to make it impregnable on account of the dangerous vicinity (of hostile tribes) The King confided its guard to Persian troops of tried fidelity, to whom they left the possession of all the territories which they could cultivate with a view to develop the resources of the country and to defend against the Turkish tribes and other infidels The reason why Noushirwan built this wall is thus described — "The Khazar tribe had made themselves masters of the Persian Empire upto Hamdân and Mosul Noushirwân, on ascending the throne, sent some deputies to ask in marriage, the daughter of their king and offering his to him, with a view to cement by that alliance their union against their common enemies This proposition having been accepted Noushirwân selected one of his most beautiful slave women He sent her, under the name of his daughter, to the King of the Khazars, to whom, according to custom, he made magnificent presents The Khakan (the King of the Khazars) then offered his own daughter to Khosro Noushirwân demanded an interview to strengthen the bonds of friendship between them They selected a propitious place and the two sovereigns lived there for some time" One day Noushirwân ordered one of his officers to select 300 of his best soldiers and to plunder the camp of the Khakan when they were all asleep The next morning, the Khakan complained of what happened in his camp at night and asked for an explanation Noushirwân pretended ignorance and said that he would make inquiries which ended in nothing This was repeated twice Then the Khakan, being irritated at the culprits not being traced, asked one of his generals to do a similar thing, i. e., to plunder one night the camp of Noushirwân When Noushirwân complained the next morning the Khakan said 'Your camp has been pnt to this trouble only once but my

1. Gibbon alludes to the building of the wall and its gate by Noushirwan when he says "The Persian assumed the guard of the gates of Caucasus." (Vol III, p. 120 Edition of 1844)

2. Here by the expression of exchange of daughters is meant the exchange of the royal brides of each a family

camp has been thrice plundered" Then Noshirwân said "This seems to be the work of evil minded persons on both sides who wish to create a rupture in our friendship I propose a project, which will benefit us both, if you accept it" On the Khakan asking, what it was, he suggested that a wall may be built between their territories to prevent the subjects of one entering into the territories of another without permission The Khakan agreed and the wall was the result It is said that when it was finished Noshirwân got his throne placed on the dam over the sea upto which the wall was extended and prostrating himself before God, thanked Him for having helped him to finish the great work He then laid himself down on the throne and exclaimed "I can now rest myself"

The Derbend namah¹ refers to Noshirwân's Wall I give Noshirwan's wall here a substance of the portion which precedes referred to in the the reference to Noshirwân's wall, showing Turkish Derbend that there existed then, even before the time namah of Noshirwân, a wall known as the Wall of Alexander There reigned in Iran a king named Kohad who ruled over the whole of Turkhistan and Ajamastan (عجمستان) Anoushirawan Adil was the son of this King In the North, there ruled over the Khazar tribe a king called Khakan Shâh (خاقان شاه) who also ruled over Russia (روسه), Moscow (مسکو), Kazân (قزاق), Crimea (قırım) and other countries The seat of the throne of this Khakan shah was on the sea shore on the banks of the river Adil (ادل Volga) There was a constant war between Persia and the Khakan shâh, which was put to an end by a peace, the principal term of which was, that King Kohad of Persia was to marry a daughter of the King of the Khazars To prevent disturbances in future, Kobad proposed that a boundary wall may be constructed between the frontiers of the Persian territories and the territories of the Khazars The Khakan proposed that the wall built by Iskander Zoulqarnin (اسکندر دلقرنس) may form the boundary and that the Persian king may build a city there The city was built and named Babulabwab

¹ Vide Derbend namah or the History of Derbend translated from a select Turkish version and published with the Texts and with Notes by Mirza A. Karem Beg (St Petersburg 1851) According to Mirza Karem Beg it was written at the end of the 16th century by Mahomed Awabi Aktachi (محمد اوابی اکتاشی) under the patronage of Ghazi Gherai a brother of Semiz Muhammed Gherai Khan the Khan of Crimea. This was some time after the Ottomans subdued Aderbalzan and Daghestan in the reign of Sultan Murad III A Persian translation of this Turkish Derbend namah is said to have been made in 1806 (ibid p. 11) by one Ali Kar Then there has been another Turkish version made from the Persian version.

Darbend and many Persians went and settled there. This being done, Kohad shah sent the daughter of the Khakan shah back inviolated to her father's court, apprehensive that, were children to be born of this marriage such an event might in future ages be a cause of discord between two kingdoms, and might give occasion to the tribes of Khazar to possess themselves of the frontiers of Iran. The Khakan shah was enraged at this conduct of Kohad and wars were again renewed. The new city of Darhend was invaded and Noshirwân, the son of Kohad defended it.

Then we further read that Noshirwân himself also "erected a wall, at the distance of three farsakhs from Derhend which extended to the distance of ninety two farsakhs."¹ Thereafter "Prince Anoshurwan on the death of his father ascended the throne of the Kingdom and reigned. He filled with warriors all the cities and fortresses lying around Derhend and on the frontiers, and himself retired to his metropolis Medâyan, where he remained with a firm resolution to defend the boundaries of his Empire. His object in building these towns and fortresses was to prevent Khakan shah and the Khazarians from having it in their power to conquer Derhend. Thus the ancient kings endeavoured to defend Derhend in order that the Khazars might not gain possession of it, for if the Khazars could have taken Derhend all the Kingdoms of Aderhajan and Fars would inevitably have fallen under their dominion."²

Tabari though referring to Noshirwan's war with the Khazars, does not refer to his wall. But he refers to a reservoir of water built by Noshirwan at the city. While speaking of the war of Maslama son of Abdoul Malik governor of Armenia with the Khazars, Tabari refers to Noshirwan's reservoir and describes a stratagem whereby the Khazars were made to run away from the city of Bab al Abwab. According to this writer there lived in the city 1000 Kazar families. Maslama besieged the city but to no purpose. One of the Khazars of the city proved treacherous to his tribe and on the promise of a reward, he undertook to help Maslama. He asked from Maslama 100 sheep and oxen and took them to the reservoir of water built by Noshirwan from which the Khazars in the citadel of the fort drew their supply of water by a subterranean channel. He slew all the 100 animals there and rendered the water bloody. So, the Khazars in the citadel could not drink the water. Being thus deprived of their water,

¹ Ibid. p. 7. ² Ibid. pp. 7-9.

* Tabari was born at Amol in Tabaristan in 839-40.

to avoid dying by thirst, they left the city. Thus, this stratagem brought the citadel into the hands of the Musulmans.

Prof. Jackson, in his second book of travels in Persia, gives us a very interesting account of his visit to Noshirwân's Wall and of his researches there. We learn from it, that even now, after the lapse of nearly 14 centuries, one sees the relics of Sassanian times there on the banks of the Great Caspian.¹ The surest evidence of identifying the wall as the work of the Sassanians was the fact that "in the stones . . . there were carved the oft-repeated figure of a ring with two lines hanging from it resembling the familiar Sassanian chaplet with streamers. These devices were generally carved high up at the sides."² According to Prof Jackson, the construction of the wall is of large blocks, four feet in length and two feet in height but only eight inches broad between them. Many of the larger blocks, however, are of still greater proportions. Ibn Takûl (903 A. D.) said that it would take fifty men to lift them. All the blocks are carefully set; and some of the oldest accounts of them speak of their being bound together by cramps of iron, so that they must have formed a perfect breastwork in the days when artillery was not known.³

That the Khazars, against whom Noshirwân built the wall at Derbend, were a tribe of the Huns, is evident from the fact that the Armenians speak of the pass along which the wall is built as Honar Pahak, i. e., the Watch or the protector against the Huns.⁴ It is said that Noshirwân spent a good deal of money on this wall. Finding his treasury empty for further work, he is said to have "paid a surprise visit to Âzâd Mohân," who had "accumulated enormous wealth" at Kerman. Âzâd Mohân provided a sum of money sufficient not only to complete the great work, but also to found the city of Astrabad.⁵

According to Deguignes, the Turcs, a tribe of the Huns, who made frequent inroads in the territories of the Persians near Media or Aderbadgan, were looked at peacefully by the Romans of Justin II, who was now and then at war with the Persians. They were taken to be, as it were, a check upon the Persians of Noshirwân. So the Persian king, to put an end to their frequent inroads, built a great wall of 40 farsangs (quarante parsanges).⁶ Noshirwân also built a city there called Darband.

¹ From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyâm (1911), Chap. V.

² Ibid. p. 73. * Ibid. p. 61. * Ibid. p. 61.

³ "Ten thousand Miles in Persia" by Major F. M. Sykes (1902), p. 40.

⁴ Histoire General des Huns, par Deguignes Tome I, Partie II p. 390.

Caterino Zeno, who was in Persia as ambassador from the Republic of Venice in the 15th Century, thus speaks of Derbend, the city of the wall "Derbento is a city which was built in the passes of the Caspian mountains by Alexander, to resist the incursions of the Scythians where the pass is so narrow that one hundred resolute soldiers could bar with their pikes the passage of a million of men"

The Derbend nameh in its above description refers to a previous wall built by one Sikandar Zu l qarnain. Wall of Alexander The word Zul qarnain means his cornous or two horned (lit master (zu) of two horns (qarn)) There were two Sikandars or Alexanders who were known by this name The word qarnain or horns meant two directions, the East and the West What was meant was that the person had conquered the whole world from the East to the West The first of the two kings known by this name lived in the hoary past, and not much is known about him The second of the two is Alexander the Great spoken of by Eastern writers as Ben Philicus i.e., the son of Philip

Tahari refers to the wall near Derbend and speaks of it as the wall of Yajouj and Majouj (ياجوج و ماجوج Gog and Magog) From the way he describes the place of the wall it seems, as if the place was somewhat mysterious and produced jewels of great value He attributes it to one Zul qarnain without joining the name of Askander to the word It seems that he means the Sikander Zu l qarnain of some hoary antiquity and not Alexander the Great Though Tacitus and others attribute the wall to Alexander the Great, perhaps the tradition about one Zul qarnain has been transferred to another Zul qarnain.

A part of Noshirwan's Wall extended into the sea and there, at the end formed a kind of protection for the harbour also We read the following about the process of the extension of the wall in the sea in Maqoudi's account² of the reign of Noshirwan Maqoudi says —

- 1 Travels of Venetians in Persia p. 55 (Hakluyt Society) quoted by Sykes.
 2 Maqoudi for Barber de Meynard Vol. II p. 128.
 3 Maqoudi says that the king received the title of Anousharwan (انوشروان) after his victory over Mazdak and his 80 000 followers who were killed in the country between Jazm and Nahrwan (جزم والنهران) He says that the word means a "new king (حدود المالك) Here Maqoudi is wrong the meaning being "immortal souled."

The word is originally anaoasha urvan (انوشاه اروان) i.e., of undying or immortal soul) in the Avesta, and Anoshahraban (انوشاه رابان) Ardak Vrafi I 16) in the Fahlavi

'The king was called at the city of El Bah and at the Caucasus by the incursions of the neighbouring kings. He built over the (Caspian) sea with the aid of leather bottles of inflated leather, a wall of rocks (i.e., stone slabs) tied together by iron and lead. The leather bottles sank down in water according as the construction (of the wall) was raised over it. When they settled at the bottom and the wall came over the level of the water, the divers armed with daggers and cutlasses broke the leather bottles, the wall entering deeply under the sub marine ground, attained then the height of the bank. It exists even to-day in 332 (Hijri), and all that part of the wall of which the layers have plunged into water is called el keid (الكيد), i.e., the chain, because it stops the ships of the enemy who attempted to land on this side. They continued the same work along the shore between the Caucasus (جبل القوقاز) the mountain of Kabkh) and the sea. They opened the gates over the territories of the infidels and prolonged the wall across Mount Caucasus in the way, as said above in describing this mountain and the city of El Bah. Anoushirawan had before its construction, long strifes with the kings of the Khazars and they pretend that he built the wall only to intimidate and subdue the peoples which inhabited this country."

We learn from Fridousi's account of the wall that Noshirwan ordered skilful artisans (امداد) from all countries. China may be one of these countries. Ho must have heard of the Great Wall of China built against the Huns about 800 years before his time. So when he found his own country open to the inroads of the descendants of these Huns, he very possibly sent for some architects from China also who from their knowledge of the great Chinese Wall against the Huns might assist him in his work against the then Huns. There is no doubt that in those early times there was a trade communication between Persia and China. Mr Parker, in his book on China² refers to the early trade of the West with China by the land route of Parthia. The Romans later on began the trade by the sea route. According to Chinese records "the Parthians carried on a land trade in waggons and sea trade in boats"³. The distances of the stages in the route were all measured by Persian farsangs. It was the cupidity of the later Parthian traders that let slip the land trade from

¹ I give my translation from the French translation of Barbier de Meynard.

² China by E. H. Parker

³ China by E. H. Parker p. 61

the hands of the Persians to those of the Romans, who traded by the sea route.¹

Dr. Rostovtzeff, in his recently published interesting book, "Iranians and Greeks in South Russia" (1922), speaks at some length of the influence of the Iranians on South Russia. It was the presence of the Sassanians and their predecessors on the shores of the Caspian, and their conquest and long stay in that direction that had led to the influence

¹ In the great massacre of Canton in 979 A. C. about 100,000 Jews, Christians, Mahomedans and Zoroastrians are said to have been killed. Most of the Zoroastrians, killed in this massacre, may be the Zoroastrians driven away from Persia by the Arab conquest but some of them may be traders.

THE AFGHANISTAN OF THE AMIR AND THE ANCIENT MAZDAYACIANS¹

L'histoire de l'Afghanistan intresse à la fois l'Inde et la Perse car il a tour à tour oscillé dans l'orbite de l'une et de l'autre. Sous les successeurs d'Alexandre en particulier sous les noms d'Arie Arachosie Paropamisae et Drangiane il a été le siège d'un mouvement de civilisation très intense et très varié, c'est de là que la civilisation grecque a rayonné sur l'Inde il a été plus tard le premier centre de l'empire indo-scythique quatre civilisations quatre religions le Mazdaïsme le Brahmanisme le Bouddhisme et l'Hellénisme s'y sont rencontrés s'y sont juxtaposés et semblent y avoir vécu en paix sous la tutelle des rois barbares. (Professor James Darmesteter in his triannual Report of the work done by the Asiatic Society of Paris for the years 1883-1890 Journal Asiatique Huitième série Tome XVI pp 83-84 Vide pp 69-70 of the separate Extract)

As Professor Darmesteter says the history of Afghanistan interests India and Persia at once and the same time because it oscillates in turn in the orbit of one or the other. Under the successors of Alexander in particular under the names of Arie Arachosia Paropamisae and Drangiana it has been the seat of a movement of a very great and varied civilisation it was from there that the civilisation of Greece had radiated over India. It has been later on the important centre of the Indo-Scythian Empire. Four civilisations four religions—the Mazdayacian the Brahmanic the Buddhist and the Hellenic have met there have been in juxtaposition there and appear to have lived there in peace under the guardianship of uncivilised kings.

It is the ruler of a country with such glorious past associations who visits our country now. His visit as the friend of our august Emperor our benign Government and our beloved country has drawn towards itself the attention of all the various communities in general and of the Mahomedans and Parsees in particular. The Mahomedans look upon this visit with particular interest as the Amir is one of the three great potentates of Islamic faith. The Parsees look upon it with great interest

¹ This paper was contributed to the East and West of the late Mr B. M. Malabar at the time of the visit of India by the late Amir of Afghanistan in 1907.

for the reason that as pointed out by Professor Darmesteter in the passage quoted at the top of this paper his country was, at one time the seat of their Mazdayasnan religion and of their ancient Iranian civilisation. His Majesty's country of Afghanistan is a country which has many of the old associations of their history connected with it. It is a country which was at one time the cradle of their religion and the home of some of their early forefathers. It is a country over which at one time ruled many of the kings of the ancient dynasties of Iran. It is a country whose ancient history and geography are referred to in their old scriptures and in their later Pahlavi and Persian literature. It is a country a part of which was according to Firdousi ruled over as feudal chiefs by the celebrated Rustam and Zal. It is a country which cherished up to a late period the ancient traditions of Iran which supplied to Firdousi a great part of the materials for his *Shahnamah*. It is no wonder then if the monarch of a land with which such of their old associations are connected is looked upon by the Parsees with esteem and respect and if on his visit to this city they give expression to their feelings of respectful welcome.

On the subject of the origin of the Afghans and of their language there has been a difference of opinion among scholars. The Afghans themselves trace their descent from the Jews. We find in the Asiatic Researches¹ a letter from Henry Vansittart to Sir William Jones giving an abridged outline of their early history as given by the Afghans themselves in a work called *Asrar ul Afaghinah* or the Secrets of the Afghans. We read there that the Afghans according to their own traditions are the posterity of Melchizedek (king Saul) who in the opinion of some was a descendant of Judah the son of Jacob and according to others of Benjamin the brother of Joseph. According to Dr Bellew the traditions of this people refer them to Syria as the country of their residence at the time they were carried away into captivity by Bukhtunassar (Nebuchadnezzar) and planted as colonists in different parts of Persia and Media. From these positions they at some subsequent period emigrated eastward into the mountainous country of Ghor where they were called by the neighbouring peoples *Bani Afghan*² and *Bani Israel* or children of Afghan and children of Israel.³

¹ Vol. II (1899) pp. 67-75. In this connection see also History of the Afghans by Vansittart translated by Bernhard Dorn Part I (1899).

² The Races of Afghanistan by H. W. Bellew (1869) p. 15. For a brief outline of the history of the Afghans up to now vide my Lecture in Gujarati entitled અફઘાન-પ્રજા અને અફઘાન-સામ્રાજ્ય in my સાત મહાજાતિ (વિશ્લેષ) Part III pp. 1-23. For the Advance of Russia in Afghanistan see my Letters entitled અફઘાન સરકાર અને રશિયાની પાસે પ્રવેશના અંગત બખ્ત in the Jam-i-Jama'at of Bombay of 7 & 10 and 12 November 1887.

Captain Raverty says: "I am inclined to conclude—from the great affinity I have shown to exist between the Pushto and the Scythic and Iranian dialects; from the numerous traditions on the subject; from the Levitical customs still prevalent among the Afghans, after the lapse of twenty-five centuries from the Jewish captivity; from their great and decided difference in feature from any other people. . . . and from the numerous proofs we possess of their gradually having advanced from the west of Asia—that the Afghans are a remnant of the lost tribes of Israel." Thus, we see that the Afghans are believed to be 'a remnant of the lost tribes of Israel,' and that they are believed to have "gradually advanced from the west of Asia." Mr Titzgerald Lee, in his recent book "*The Greater Exodus and the Cradle of the Scythic Race*," "tries to show that the cradle of the Semitic race is not in Western Asia as it is generally believed, but in America; that it was from America that the ancient Israelites migrated to Asia; and that it was in this migration from America to Western Asia via the Behring straits, that the Afghans were left in their modern country as an offshoot of the Israelites."

As to Pushtu, the language of the Afghans, the late Professor James Darmesteter, who had come to India in 1886-87, on a special errand to study Pushtu, and had stayed for several months at Peshawar and Abbotabad, came to the conclusion that the Pushtu belonged to the Iranian stock, and that it was, as it were, an offspring of the ancient Zend. It was the Zend of Arachosia. He says—"Le phonétisme afghan ne présente aucun des traits essentiels de l'Inde et présente tous ceux qui sont essentiels à la famille iramienne. A l'intérieur de cette famille, il se rattache, non au rameau perse, mais au rameau zend, car dans les traits caractéristiques où le zend diffère du Perso, c'est le Zend qu'il suit: autrement dit, l'Afghan est le Zend de Arachosie"¹

The Afghanistan of the present time is much reduced in area. It is not what it once was. As Dr Bellow says, by the term Afghanistan we must understand "all that region which is bounded on the north by the Oxus, and on the south by Balochistan; on the east by the middle course of the Indus, and on the west by the desert of Persia"² Up to the beginning of the

¹ "Dictionary of the Pushtu" by Capt. Raverty (1869), Introductory Remarks pp XVII XVIII

² The above Report p 70

³ The Races of Afghanistan, pt II; W Bellow (1830), p 12

eighteenth century, Afghanistan was included in the general name of Khorasan. Dr. Bellew says "that both (Afghanistan and Baluchistan) were divisions of so extensive geographical area known by the name of Khorassan. The word Khorassan itself is said to be a mere euphemism of Khoristao or 'the country of the sun', 'the place of Light' or, in other words, 'the East,' 'the Orient as being the easternmost or Indian province of the ancient Persian Empire of Cyrus and Darius'"¹

The name Afghanistan comes from one Afghāna, who was believed to be their ancestor. Tradition attributes to him the same sort of semi-miraculous birth as that attributed to the Iranian hero Rustam whose home and country, as mentioned by Firdousi, were Jaboul and Kaboul in Afghanistan. It is said of Rustam that on the advice of the Simurg his mother Roudabeh had to go through a surgical operation to give birth to Rustam whose body had overgrown the usual size of a child in the womb of his mother. When relieved of her pains after the birth of the child the first word she is said to have uttered was "Rastam" i.e., "I am relieved (of pains)." This word is said to have given the name to the child. A similar story is said of Afghāna. The first word that his mother is said to have uttered on her being relieved of her pains was "Afghāna," a word of complaint or lamentation from Pers. *fighān*, expressing a feeling of relief from pains. This word gave the name to the child.

Now coming to the question of the ancient history of the country of Afghanistan and its connection with the ancient Iranians or Zoroastrians, we find that we have, at the very frontiers of Afghanistan, many traditions about the ancient Iranians. For example when going to the fort of Ali Masjid in the Khyber Pass in 1877 I heard that the fort of Jamrud, situated on this side of the Khyber had its name associated with the name of King Jamshed who is also known in Parsee books by the name of Jam, the later equivalent of its Avesta form Yima.² The tradition of the Jehan numai Jam (i.e., the world-showing cup) of Jamshed and Kaikhosru is connected with a *tdlāb*, i.e., a pond said to be in the neighbourhood of this fort. This cup of Jamshed reminds one of the cup of Joseph in Egypt (Genesis xlv 2-5) of the cup of Nestor in Greece of the cup of King Kaud in India and of the Holy Grail of Christ.³

¹ "Afghanistan, and Afghans" by H. W. Bellew (1870) pp. 181-82.

² Vide my paper, "L'Etymologie populaire des noms des étapes entre Merv et Kaboul" read before La Société Asiatique de Paris Séance du 8 Novembre 1889 (Journal Asiatique, huitième série, Tome XLV (1889) p. 37. *Février* "Asiatic papers" Part I pp. 201.

³ Vide my paper in Gujarati "Saah Jamshed and Jam-i-Jamshed" pp. 75-82.

Again, we find that many of the towns and localities of Afghanistan are mentioned in the Avesta. Though scholars differ in the identification of some places, there is no doubt that many of the cities, mentioned in the first chapter of the Vendidad, belonged to Afghanistan. For places like Sughdha, Bakhdhi, Haroyu, Vaêkereta, Urra, Haravaiti and Haetumant, mentioned in the Vendidad,¹ one has to look to the East and to the country of Afghanistan. They have been identified with several towns of this country.

Coming to the Yashts, some of the places of worship mentioned in the Aban Yasht as those where some of the grandees of ancient Iran prayed for strength of body and mind to attain their objects of desire, are the places of Afghanistan, notably the Paesananglia (the modern Peshin) valley and the Frazdâna lake, places connected with the name of Keresâspa and King Gushtâsp. For most of the places mentioned in the Meher Yasht, such as Ishkata, and Pouruta, we have to look to the Paroponessus, which is connected with Afghanistan. The Zamyâd Yasht gives a long list of the mountains of Ancient Iran. Some of these, such as the Ushidarena, Ereziphyra, Vaiti-gâsa, and Ishkata, have been identified with the mountains of Afghanistan. The mountain Khanvant of the Tr Yasht is identified with the Bamian mountains of Afghanistan.

Coming to the Pahlavi treatise known as Afdiya va Sahugiya i-Sistan,² one has to look to Afghanistan, and especially to Seistan for the identification of most of the places mentioned in it. Many of the places, associated therein with the name of Zoroaster, are to be found in this part of the country. It was the very cradle of Zoroastrianism. According to Dr Stein, the well-known traveller of Central Asia, even now there lives a tribe called Kiânian on the banks of the Helmund, which is the Haetumant of this Pahlavi Treatise, the Haetumat of the Avesta, and the Etymander of the Greeks. Lakes Frazdân and Kânsu, referred to as the residences of the apostles, Hoshedar and Soshyes, the mount Hosh-dâstar, referred to as the holy mountain of the inspiration of the prophet, all belong to this part of Afghanistan. The region of Frazdân was the first place in Seistan where Gushtâsp is said to have promulgated the religion of Zoroaster.

The Pahlavi treatise of Shatrohâ-i-Îrân throws a good deal of light on the question of the connection of the ancient kings

¹ For the identification of these names, *vide my* "Dictionary of Avestic Proper names".

² *Vide my* Transliteration and Translation of "Alyâdgâr i zarîran, Shatrohâ i Airân va Afidiya va Sahigûh i Seistan".

and heroes of Iran with Seistan, which forms an important part of Afghanistan. According to Dr F. Goldsmid, "it is somewhat embarrassing at the present day to define the limits of the province of Sistan. We may suppose two territories, one compact and concentrated, which may be termed 'Sistan Proper,' the other detached and irregular, which may be termed 'Outer Sistan,'"¹ According to Dr Bellew, "Nimruz (which was another name of Seistan) included the modern Sistan, which represents but a trivial portion of the area included in the Sakistân of the Greeks and the Sajestân or Sijistân of the Arahs. Further, the whole of Sijistan country is included in the more extensive region of Khorassan."² As to the name "Nimroz" i.e., "half a day," applied to Seistan, tradition says that it "was once entirely under water but having been drained, in the short space of half day by the Genu, it hence received the name of Nimroze."³

According to the above mentioned Pahlavi treatise, Kâbul (modern Cabul) was at one time considered to be a part of Seistan. The Arab geographer Ebn Haukal⁴ supports this statement. According to Edrisi,⁵ another Arab geographer, no king could assume the title of Shâh until he was enthroned at Kâbul. The above Pahlavi treatise attributes its foundation—and in the case of many of the towns referred to by it, by "foundation we must, at times, also understand rebuilding or embellishment—to Artashir i Spendadât, i.e. Bahaman the son of Asfandyâr the son of Gushtâsp. Some scholars identify the Vaekereta of the Vendidad and some the Urva of the Vendidad with Cahul.⁶ I think it is the latter. It is the Ortospana of the writers who describe the travels of Alexander the Great. Another name of this Ortospana was Carura.⁷ According to Ptolemy this Carura later became Caboura which again latterly became Cahul.⁸ Taheri indirectly supports the statement which connects Bahman Asfandyar with Cabul. According to Maçondi,⁹ this Bahman had founded in Seistan the fire temple of Kerakeran. It is the fire temple of Kerkoe referred to in the Atash Niryâsh. It is the locality of this fire-temple that was lately discovered by an English civil officer doing duty in Seistan.

¹ Journey from Bunder Abbas to Meshed by Sistan by Sir J. J. Beland. The proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society Vol. XXII p. 84.

² "From the Indus to the Tigris" by Dr Bellew pp. 26.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ouseley's Oriental Geography p. 29.

⁵ Géographie d'Idrisi par Joubert I p. 143.

⁶ Faldsay Gujarati "Geography of the Age of the Avesta."

⁷ Strabon traduit en Français par Joubert p. 26.

⁸ Faldsay "Invasion of India by Alexander the Great" by McCrindle p. 241.

⁹ Macdonell, traduit par Harter de Maynard I J II p. 7.

Next to Cabul Kandhar or Khandhar is another important city of Afghanistan. Some scholars have identified it with the Khment of the Vendidad the last part 'har' being a later addition. According to Maçoudî¹ it was also known as Rahput. So it seems to be the city of Ravad spoken of in the Pahlavi Shatroiha, Iran² as founded by Reham of Godrez after his having killed a Turanian officer. Perhaps it is the Raibad of Firdousi's Shah-nâmeh according to which in the well known fight between the eleven heroes of Iran and the eleven heroes of Turân Reham and Godrez killed Bârmân.³

Bost is another principal city of Afghanistan referred to in connection with the ancient Zoroastrians. Ebn Haukal⁴ Maçoudî⁵ and Edrisî⁶ consider this city to be one of the principal cities of Seistan. It is the town which according to the Shâhnamah⁷ Kaikhosru gave to Rustam as a gift on his retirement from the throne. It was situated on the Helmand which, according to Maçoudî is also known as the river of Bost. According to D'Anville⁸ Kinnîr⁹ and Malcolm¹⁰ it is the Abesto of Pliny. According to Dr. Bellew¹¹ on some excavations being made there at the time of his travels two or three fire altars and some Sassanian coins were found. This town of Bost had derived its name from Bastvairi of the Farvardin Yasht¹² the Bastur or Nastur of the Shahnamah¹³ who founded it. According to the Pahlavi treatise of the Cities of Iran it was founded or rather rebuilt and embellished at the time when king Vishtâsp was in the adjoining district of like Frazdan to promulgate the religion of Zoroaster.¹⁴ Vishtasp (Gushtasp) and his other family chiefs are said to have belonged to this city. Saena Ahum Satudan of the Farvardin Yasht who had flourished 100 years after Zoroaster and who was the preceptor of a hundred disciples whom he had brought to the fold of Zoroastrian religion belonged according to another Pahlavi treatise¹⁵ to this city. It was the centre of the promulgation of the Zoroastrian religion in its early years.

¹ Ibid p 370

² I use my Translation of this treatise p 69

³ Mohl III p 589

⁴ Ouseley's Oriental Geography p 407

⁵ R de Meynard II pp 79 80 & 30

⁶ L'Asie par J. de Bert I p 417 44

⁷ Mohl II p 25

⁸ D'Anville's Ancient Geography II p 64

⁹ Kinnîr's Persian Empire p 190

¹⁰ Malcolm's History of Persia

¹¹ From the Indus to the Tigris p 15

¹² Yt XIII 103

¹³ Mohl II p 418

¹⁴ I use my Translation p 61 I use also p 104

¹⁵ Atliya va Sahigtha I S : an I use my translation p 126

The Pahlavi treatise the "Cities of Iran"¹ attributes to Rustam the formation of two cities of Afghanistan. They are Fariāv, the Fariab of Irdouī² and Zavulastān the Zaboulistan of Irdouī. It speaks of Rustam as the Shah of Javulastān. According to Arab writers³ this Fariab was founded by Kai Kobad. This city seems to be the Forh of Ebn Haukal⁴. It is the Parrah mentioned in ancient geography capital of the Parthian province of Anabān and at that time a place of great splendour and extent⁵. As to Zavulastan or Zaboul the district round Gīzū and Cabul was then known by that name.

The next important city of Seistan is Dooshak which is the Zerenj of the Pahlavi treatise of the "Cities of Iran"⁶. It is the Zerandj of Tabari⁷ who calls it the capital of Seistan. Zarinje of Fbn Haukal⁸ who calls it the largest city of Seistan and Zarend of Edrisi⁹ who calls it the principal city of Sedjestan or Seistan. It is the Zaranga of Ptolemy. At first Ram S heristan¹⁰ on the banks of the Helmund was the capital of Seistan but the river having changed its course from there later on Zarang or Dooshaka on the Helmund was made the capital. The fire temple of Karkoo referred to above as being founded in Seistan was situated in this city¹¹. In its early history the name of Afrasiab is connected with it. King Kaikhosru added splendour to it. Ardeshir Babegan (Artaxerxes) the founder of the Sassanian dynasty is said to have rebuilt and embellished this city¹².

The river Ardvīçīra whose praises are sung in the Ābtīn Yasht is identified by different scholars with different rivers of Central Asia. I agree with Dr Geiger in taking that it is the Oxus a large part of which runs from the dominions of the Amir. The name Oxus is derived from Alsu one of its principal tributaries and I think that the name Alsu has some connection with Ardvīçī(rā). We learn from Col. Gordon that the district

¹ S. 37. F. de my Tran la ion p. 91.

² Mohl III p. 306.

³ Dict. onnaire Géographique de de la Perse par B. de Meynard p. 414.

⁴ Ousley & Oriental Geography p. 308.

⁵ Kinn. Ir. & Pers. Empire p. 193. D. Anville & Ancient Geography II p. 65.

⁶ S. 38. My Translation p. 9.

⁷ Tabari par Zotenberg III p. 51.

⁸ Ousley & Oriental Geography pp. 303 and 307.

⁹ Edrisi par Jaubert I p. 44.

¹⁰ Dictionnaire Géographique par B. de Meynard.

¹¹ Ma. ondi par B. de Meynard IV p. 3. C. 120. 13. Iran S. 38. My Translation p. 9.

¹² 1867.

of the Pamirs whence the Oxus flows had a Zoroastrian population as late as about 700 years ago. He says

"According to Shighnā accounts the family of the Shah of Shighnan originally came from Persia and the first arrival from that country (said to have been between 500 and 700 years ago) was the Shah i Khāmosh who was a Syud and a Fakir. The country was at that time in the hands of the Zardushtis (ancient Guebbers fire worshippers) a powerful and learned race. The Shah i Khamosh commenced to teach these people the Koran. There were already at this time Musulmans in the neighbouring country of Darwaz and many of them flocked into Shighnan as followers of the Shah i Khamosh. In about ten years he had converted large numbers of the people and a religious war commenced which ended in this leader wresting the kingdom from Kabakuh the ruler of Shighnan and Roshan under the Zardushtis the seat of whose government was then at Balkh. After this the teaching of the people continued and in ten years more all had been converted to the Shrah form of the Muhammadan faith. If this be true it is probable that proselytising expeditions were sent into Wakhan and the neighbouring hill countries and extended their operations even to Sinhol and Kunjut gaining all over to the Shrah faith which they now profess. The ruins of three forts said by the natives to have been erected by the Atashparistan (fire worshippers) still exist in Wakhan one called Kakhaka in the Ishtrak district another named Marchun in the vicinity of Khandut and the third Kila Sungibar close to the hamlet of Hissar. The first was the residence of the ruler of the Zardushtis."

Lieut. Wood who travelled in the Pamirs in 1837 supports Gordon. He says "Since crossing the Pass of Ishkhanim we had seen the ruins of three Kaffer forts which the natives believe to have been erected by the Guebbers or fire worshippers, one called Sumri in the neighbourhood of Kundut another in the vicinity of Ishtrak named Kakah and the last Kila Zan Guebar close to the hamlet of Issar. I have elsewhere mentioned the repugnance with which a Badakhshan blows out a light. Similar lingering remnants of Zoroaster's creed are to be detected

here. A Wakhani considers it bad luck to blow out a light by the breadth, and will rather wave his hand for several minutes under the flame of his pipe-slip, than resort to the sure but to him disagreeable alternative."¹

¹ Wood 'S' " Personal Narratives of a Journey to the source of the River Oxus (841) p 333 For the Pamirs vide my 'Gujarati' Lectures entitled "પામીરનો મુખ્ય એએક જખતનો જરૂરિયાતી મુદ્દોની જુઓગ તથા તવારીખ અને હાલમાં રશિયા સાથે કીડવો વર્ણિ" in my Dnyā Prastak Essays Part I (1899) pp 150-168. For a Brief account and history of Baluchistan on the South of Ruana, vide my Gujarati Lecture, entitled "બલુચીસ્તાનમાં આવેલો મહાનનો મુદ્દો" in my Dnyā Prastak Essays, part II pp 96-134.

A PARSI PRAYER, PRESENTING PASSAGES, PARALLEL TO THOSE OF TWO GREEK AND CHINESE ANECDOTES

In the Bulletin (Vol II Part IV (1923) pp 609 11) of the School of Oriental Studies London Institution Mr Lionel Giles gives under the heading Two Parallel Anecdotes in Greek and Chinese anecdotes from Chinese and Greek writings wherein persons express their satisfaction for having been born in a certain condition

(a) Confucius asks an old Chinaman What is it that makes you happy? He replies I have a great deal to make me happy God created all things and of all His creations man is the noblest It has fallen to my lot to be a man that is my first ground for happiness Then there is a distinction between male and female the former being rated more highly than the latter Therefore it is better to be a male and since I am one I have a second ground of happiness Furthermore some are born who never behold the sun or the moon and who never emerge from their swaddling clothes But I have already walked the earth for the space of ninety years That is my third ground for happiness Poverty is the normal lot of the scholars death the appointed end for all human beings Abiding in the normal state and reaching at last the appointed end what is there that should make me unhappy?

(b) As a parallel Greek passage Mr Giles quotes from Plutarch's Life of Marius (§ 46) a passage wherein Plato on the approach of his death gave thanks to his familiar spirit and to Fortune for that in the first place he had been born a man and not a brute devoid of reason and in the second a Greek and not a barbarian and moreover that his birth had happened to fall within the life time of Socrates

(c) Mr Giles gives another passage from Diogenes Laertius (I VII 33) who lived probably in the second century A C which says Hermippus in his Lives attributes to our philosopher (Thales) a saying which is sometimes told of Socrates According to this authority he used to say that he gave thanks to Fortune for three things in particular firstly because he had been born a man and not a beast secondly because he was a male and not a female and thirdly a Greek and not a barbarian

From these Chinese and Greek passages, we find the following to be the causes for which the parties felt happy —

- (1) *Chinese* — Having been born (a) a Man, not a beast-
(b) a Male, not a female (c) Growing up to ripe old age, not dying early
- (2) *Greek* — Having been born (a) a Man and not a beast (b) a Greek, not a barbarian (c) a Male not a female

Now, we have a Parsi thanks giving prayer which refers to some similar parallel causes of happiness. The prayer is known as *Nemâz i Dadâr Hormazd* (نماز دادار هورمزد). The prayer is in Pazend and is given in full in Avesta characters in the 'Pazend Texts' (pp 206-7) by Ervad Edalji Kersaspji Antia (1909) published by the Trustees of the Funds and Properties of the Parsee Panchayat. This is not a daily recited prayer, but it is recited by few and on rare occasions. It is given in Avesta characters in the Persian Rivâyet of Darab Hormazdvar*. As the heading of the prayer we read the following —

این صفایش هر روز بخانه هاویں بعد از نمازش خورشید و مهر خواندن
برو که درین صفایش سپاس دادار ورسد بدشواراست

i.e. This prayer of Praise is to be recited every day in the Havan gâh after the recital of the Nyashes of Khurshid and Meher because in this prayer, there is much of thanks to Dadar Hormazd.

In this Pazend thanks giving prayer the worshipper thanks God for the following favours—

- (1) For the ages that have passed with prosperity (*neh zamân*) and not with adversity (*anâkâh* or *halâkâh i zaman*) From the very beginning of creation (*ban-dahushneh*) till this day (*um ruz*) the Heavens have moved in their full splendour, the Earth in its extensive width the rivers in their full length the sun in the high heavens the waters in their running course

* Darab Hormazdvar's *Javâbât* by Ervad Maueckji Rustampji Unwala, with an Introduction by me (1922) Vol. I pp 411-412. This prayer is given in Gujarati characters in Parsee Prayer books known as *Tam'im Khori* in Avesta. It is recently published in Gujarati characters with Gujarati translation by Mr. Heroji Shapurji Masani (1929) in his 'Pazend Sâdâvish pâ moleni' 11-19. It is translated into French by Prof. Darmesteter in his *Le Zend Avesta* Troisième Volume pp 187-190. It is also translated by Jamnâji S. U. Prerajee P. Prane (1891) pp 11.

the trees in their growth, and the sun moon and stars in their full brilliance. All this will continue from now to the Day of Resurrection (Rast īkhīz)

(2) For having been born (a) an *Āryān* or Iranian (and not an *un-Irāman*), (b) and a follower of the good (*Mīrdayasnān*,) religion (*hu dīn*), and (c) with the enjoyment of all physical and mental powers such as, wisdom good sense, repose good eye sight use of hands and feet good food, good clothings and all such blessings (*hamā nekī*)

(3) For having been born of the race of Man (*Čīhr ī mardumān*) with powers to hear, speak and see .

(4) For having been born Free (*āzād*) and not a bondsmen or slave (*bandeh*)

(5) For having been born a Male (*mard*) and not a Female (*zan*)

(6) For (God or the Prophet) having commanded, that meals be taken silently after the recital of grace (*bāj vāz-khur*) and not talking loud (*darāyan*)

(7) For being in a position to see and enjoy all the gifts of God such as the high heaven the warming sun the cattle-seeded moon* the brilliant fire the Halo or The Glow of a reigning monarch (*Khoreh ī Pādshāh*) fertile land running waters useful trees and herbs good dress modest handsome women, sweet eloquence in an assembly (*anjuman*), cheerful friends companions brethren and near ones and all good enjoyments (*Rām khīstra*)

From among this long list of blessings deserving thanks to God, we find that the following present parallels to the blessings mentioned in the above Chinese and Greek writings. Having been born (a) An Iranian not a non Iranian corresponding to the Greek blessing of being born a Greek and not a Barbarian (b) a man (not a beast) (c) a male and not a female (d) The Chinese blessing of living a good old age has a parallel though not direct in the passage of thanks for the full enjoyment of all God's creations

There are two other blessings in the Parsi prayer which require a mention. They are (a) of having been born in the

* According to the Mah Nyaish, the Moon has some influence on the good growth of the cattle. I cite my paper on "The Ancient Iranian Belief and Folklore about the Moon Some cognate Beliefs among other Nations" (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay of 1917. I cite my "Anthropological Papers" Part II, pp. 102-6)

good (Mazdayasnân) Faith and (b) free not a bond man Prof Darmesteter has in his above referred to paper, 'Une Prière Judeo Persane' shown the parallels of these in the Jewish Litany of the morning prayer He gives the following three forms —

Bien soit à l'Eternel notre Dieu maître du monde (a) qui ne m'a pas fait naître idolâtre (b) qui ne m'a pas fait naître esclave (c) qui ne m'a pas fait naître femme (p 11)

Of these three the first two are common with the Parsi prayer and the third is common to the prayers of all the above four people the Chinese the Greeks the Parsis and the Jews

Prof Darmesteter discusses the question as to Who borrowed the Parsees from the Jews or the Jews from the Parsees? He concludes that it were the Parsees who borrowed We are led to agree with him especially from the point of view of the parallel of the prayer offering thanks to God for being born a male and not a female When we look to the fact (a) that the Parsee prayer is comparatively later, (b) when we remember the fact that according to the older Avesta the holy spirits of pious women were invoked and honoured like those of pious men and (c) when we find that in the Avesta women are represented as holding a high position in society we are easily inclined to think that as Darmesteter has said the borrowing may have been by the Persians from the Jews

I conclude this paper with my Translation of the Parsee prayer —

TRANSLATION OF THE NEMAZ I DĀDĀR HORMAZD

1 'Adoration to Ahura Mazda the brilliant glorious omniscient wise powerful' one who makes (others) powerful pardoner perpetually good doer perpetually well preserver who perpetually keeps away harm successful worker victorious king victorious monarch who is worthy of praise and holy

2 O Creator Ahura Mazda I am under your (to) obligation I am under obligation by (my) thoughts I am under obligation by (my) words I am under obligation by (my) deeds O Dādar! I am thankful to Thee that good times

1 *Avakh hā al nigar* Mr Th Masson adds before it *avakh dāfir*
 2 *ab Hormazdyar* & *Ravat* gives *avakh shashgar*

have arrived I am thankful, that bad times have not arrived I am thankful that from the beginning of the creation till this day,¹ and from to-day till the Resurrection of the future body (tan pasin) the sky has been (and will continue to be) beautiful - the earth in (its full) width the river (in its) full length the Sun high (in the Heavens) waters running trees growing the sun shining the moon brilliant and the stars in the heavens

3 O Didār Ahura Mazdā! I am under obligation to Thee with my thoughts under obligation with my words under obligation with deeds O Didār I am under your obligation for this that you have made me an Airy² (Airyan, Iranian) and a Vohidun (i.e. a member of the good Zoroastrian religion) and that you gave me intelligence and sense, and peace and light to my eyes and hands and feet pleasant food and good apparel and all these⁴ good things according to my desire O Didār! I thank thee from (my) thoughts word and deeds every day a thousand times thousands of thousand times

4 O Didār Ahura Mazdā! I am thankful with thoughts, thankful with words thankful with deeds O Didār! I am thankful to thee that you (let) created me Man by nature (chuhar) and that you (o t) gave (me the powers of) hearing and speaking and seeing and you created me free (izid) and not slave and that you created me Male not female and that you created me a (silent) eater with the recital of grace (vazihur) and not one (eating while) talking

5 My Adoration to Thee O God! because I see Thy creations like the high heavens like the sun like the cattle-scoured moon like the red burning brilliant fire like the glory of a king prosperous with treasure and wealth like fertile land like running (ravashimand) water like vegetable and wood and trees and valuable (arzhomand)⁵ clothes like a modest handsome brilliant woman like a sweet tongue (hizvan) that may be liked and adored in an assembly like pleasant friends and neighbours and nearly related brethren like desirable pleasure (and) like one's own (good) thoughts which must be honest and (like) all thy things which are prosperous full of

1 Leva I Antia has Ahura Mazda for im roz evidently a mistake

2 Ervad Antia gives Zya for Zbā Darab Hormazdīya s Rivayat properly gives zibā

3 Ervad Antia has Ha r wrongly for Air Ar is for Airva

4 Antia has nū miswritten for ra s; Ph Masani has va in

5 Darab Hormazdīya s Rivayat gives arzhomand

advantage and splendour and happiness (*khirah*) and good for which you in this world of righteousness (a *hal* homand) and your assistance are worthy of welcome

(6) May they (worshippers) have their share of paradise May immortality reach their souls May they rest in the brilliant Heaven May my fathers mother (i.e. ancestors) brothers sisters near ones and own-ones (and) co-religionists—all those who may come hereafter or are now existent or are dead—have a share in the Paradise and a share in (the blessings of) this world May their works and righteousness have their share (of reward) in this world May all by virtue of their (good) thoughts words and deeds be on the path of truth and virtue on the path of good so that they may be liked by God

In the matter of the particular passage which presents parallels to the Chinese Greek or Jewish desires we find them repeated in another similar Pazend prayer known as

Ba Nam i Yazd (i.e. in the name of God) Therein we find the three forms of prayer not dispersed as in the first prayer but all united in one passage We read Sepas daram iz Dadir i veh avzunt ke air iam ia an air reh di ham na akd n i ard hum na zan *

Translation—I am thankful to Good Bountiful Dadar that I am an Iranian (or Airya) not a non-Iranian of the Good (Zoroastrian) religion not of (any other) religion on a man not a woman

*Pazend Texts by E. H. Antea 1903 Page 15 type 1 bāmdeni
by Mr. Heroz S. Masani 1910 Mr. Masani has taken some liberty with the original text in this as well as the preceding prayers. He seems to have been influenced by his own personal views which could have better been expressed in a footnote. The text has very properly only one form of *urīānā zān* but Mr. Masani perhaps thinking that there must be some similar words for a female worshipper has added *ān* to the words *zān* in *ham na mārd*. In doing so I observe to have missed the very spirit of the prayer which is seen, as set out above in the parallel passages from the Chinese Greek and Jewish writings.

' Ishkbazi wa jawam wa sharb i Jal lam
 Majlis i uns wa harf i hamdam wa sharb i modam
 Har ke in majlis bejuvad khush deli bar wai halal
 Wa an ke in ashraf ne khahad زندagi bar wai har un

(1 e) Love youth and ruby-coloured wine

A friendly meeting a congenial companion and constant drinking,

He who is desirous of this number of pleasures is deserving of cheerfulness

He who does not like the e pleasures may curse be on his life.

On the other hand this short definition of wine that Wine is a turn coat first a friend and then an enemy finds itself amplified in the following denunciation of Sir Walter Raleigh which says that Take e peccol care that thou delight not in wine for there never was any man that came to honour or preferment that loved it for it tranfermeth a man into a leet weaveth health poisoneth the breath destroyeth natural heat bringeth a mans stomach to an artificial heat deformeth the face rottieth the teeth, and to conclude maketh a man contemptible soon old and despised of all wile and worthy men hated in thy servants in thyself and companions for it is a bewitching and infectious vice

(d) Both took therein the choicest specimens of plants and animals

(e) As Noth built an altar unto the Lord as a mark of thank giving for his safety so Jamshed established a sacred fire named Atar Paroba

(f) Lastly as Noth was the first man to plant vineyards and to drink wine so was Jamshed first to discover wine

Prince Jalal ud din Mirzā Kāẓir thus describes the incident of the discovery of wine in his History of Persia — King Jamshed was very fond of grapes which grew only in summer. He once ordered a large quantity to be deposited in a jar for his use in winter when they were very rare. On sending for the jar after some time he found the juice of grapes fermenting. Thinking that it was turning into a poisonous liquid he got the flask marked poison and ordered it to be placed in an out of the way corner of the royal store room so as to be beyond the reach of anybody. A maid servant of the royal household happened to know this. As she was suffering from a very bad headache she thought of committing suicide in order to get rid of the pain. She stealthily went into the royal store room and took a dose out of that flask of wine and to her surprise found that the drink instead of killing her lulled her to sleep and restored her to health. She then communicated the matter to King Jamshed who was greatly pleased with the discovery. The king and his courtiers began to use it on occasions of joy and merriment. The wine was known as the *shāh daroo* i.e. the royal wine from the fact of its being discovered by the shah i.e. the king. It is said that in Persia even now wine is sometimes called the *zeher il hoosh* i.e. pleasant poison from the fact of its first being considered a poison by King Jamshed.

Coming to the time of the Avesta we find that the wine then used was the innocent juice of the grapes. That it was a sweet nourishing and health giving drink appears from several facts.

- (1) The very Avestic word for wine shows that it was a drink as sweet as honey. This Avestic word is *madō* which corresponds to the Sanscrit *madh*, Latin *mel* and French *miel*.
- (2) The root of the word shows its medicinal virtue. It comes from an old Aryan root *mad* or *medh* Latin *mederi* meaning to make a remedy from which comes our English word medicine. *Dāru* the later Persian word for wine which is now commonly used in Gujarati also has the etymological meaning

1 This is a story of the life of *Ad-nashe*. An inscription of the tomb of Ahmad Shāh Bahmani the founder of the Badar gives the following words about the *Ad-nashe* said to have been brought to him by him. "Shāh Bahmani said that the *Ad-nashe* is a sweet wine which is good for the health." (A. N. Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1914-15, p. 1.)

of medicine. *Davīdaru* is a colloquial phrase for medical treatment. It comes from an old Arvan root *dru* Sanskrit *dhru* meaning to be strong to be healthy. (3) It was prescribed as nourishment to ladies in their accouchement (Vend V 32). (4) Being a nourishing and innocent drink its use was permitted even among the priesthood (Vend XIV 17). (5) In one of the later scriptures the *Afrin* *Gahambār* where they speak about the six *Gahambār*s which are the season festivals and thanksgiving occasions corresponding to the six days of the Creation in the Christian Scriptures it is said, that the merit of celebrating the last season festival of the year the *Hamas pathmaedem Gihambār* in honour of the Creation of Man is just the same as that of feeding the poor and the pious. In the food referred to here wine is spoken of as a part of the diet. This accounts for why wine is used together with milk and water in some of the Parsee religious ceremonies. At one time it was thought very meritorious to taste a little of the wine used in the religious ceremonies of the *Gahambār* festival. (6) An allusion to wine in the recital of blessings at the marriage ceremony known as the *Ashirvad* ceremony shows that the wine spoken of in the old Parsee books was not the wine that intoxicated. The officiating priests in the recital of a long list of blessings that are invoked upon the marrying couple wish the bride and the bridegroom to be as sparkling and cheerful as wine.

After the evidences of the *Vesta* which refer to the later time of the *Hyaman* dynasty we come to the Greek and Roman historians who speak of the *Achæmenian* and *Sassânian* dynasties. According to *Herodotus* the father of History in the time of *Cyrus* who is spoken of in the Bible as the Anointed of the Lord (*Isaiah XLV*) the Persians did not make a general use of the nourishing wine. *Sandanis* a wise man of *Lydia* dissuades his *Lydian* King *Croesus* from going to war with a nation that did not drink wine but simply lived on water. He says: Thou art about oh King! to make war against men who wear leathern trousers and have all their outer garments of leather who feed not on what they like but on what they can get from a soil that is sterile and unkindly who do not indulge in wine but drink water who possess no figs nor anything else that is good to eat. If then thou conquerest them what canst thou get from them seeing that they have nothing at all? But if they conquer thee consider how much that is precious thou wilt lose. If they once get a taste of our pleasant things they will keep such hold of them that we shall never be able to make them let go their grasp. (*Hærod I 71*)

allotted to talk with equal liberty for you never ceased talking Astyages then said 'Does your father child never drink till he gets drunk?' "No truly" said he "What does he then?" Why he quenches his thirst and gets no further harm

When we come to the reign of Cambyses the successor of Cyrus we find from Herodotus that the Persians made a more general use of wine. The wine which they used was very nourishing and health giving. This appears very clearly from the following episode.—When Cambyses sent to the King of Ethiopia a flask of wine as a present the latter was greatly delighted with its taste and its excellent nourishing quality and said that the longest life of eighty years which the Persians lived must be solely due to that nourishing wine more especially so as the wheat they used was of a very inferior quality. I will quote Herodotus 'Last of all he came to the wine and having learnt their way of making it he drank a draught which greatly delighted him, whereupon he asked what the Persian King was wont to eat and to what age the longest lived of the Persians had been known to attain. They told him that the king ate bread and described the nature of wheat adding that eighty years was the longest term of man's life among the Persian. Hereat, he remarked. It did not surprise him if they fed on dirt that they died so soon indeed he was sure they never would have lived so long as eighty years except for the refreshment they got from that drink (meaning the wine) wherein he confessed the Persians surpassed the Ethiopians. (Herod III 22)

This luxury which the Persians began to possess after the conquest of Lydia seemed to be on an increasing in the reigns of the successors of Cambyses. In the reign of Darius we find a few Persians of high rank playing an indecent mischief under the influence of wine in the royal court of the Macedonian Amyntas the great grandfather of Alexander the Great (the cursed Alexander of the Pahlavi works). According to Herodotus Megabazus the Persian General of Darius sent an embassy to Macedonia to demand from its King Amyntas water and earth a symbol of submission. Amyntas did not only give these but called them to a dinner in his palace. After dinner some of the Persians under the influence of drink behaved themselves disgracefully and insulted the Macedonian lords who were specially sent for at their request. The drunken frolic ended in the massacre of the whole of the Persian embassy. The son of Amyntas who was a youth of fiery spirit determined to avenge the insult to the fair sex of his country. The next day he again

called to dinner the members of the embassy. They were made to sit each by the side of a handsome Macedonian youth dressed as a young lady. The Persians on their again attempting to repeat their drunken frolic of the previous day were pierced with daggers which the Macedonian youths carried beneath their dress (Herodotus V 17 23).

After Darius when we come to later times we find Herodotus speaking of the Persians of his own time that they are fond of wine and drink it in large quantities (Herodotus I 133). This increasing propensity to drink they further imitated from the Greeks. There is no nation says Herodotus which so readily adopts foreign customs as the Persians. As soon as they hear of any luxury they instantly make it their own (Herodotus I 135).

Xenophon praising the moderation of the Persians at the time of their first institution under Cyrus says of the Persians of his own time that beginning their meal very early they continue eating and drinking till the latest sitters up go to bed. It was likewise an institution among them not to bring large bottles to their banquets evidently thinking that by not drinking to excess they should neither weaken their bodies nor impair their understanding. And that custom too continues of not bringing such bottles but they drink to such excess *that instead of bringing in they are carried out themselves not being able to walk without help* (Cyrop VIII chap 8 9 10).

Plato on the other hand writing of the same time as Xenophon represents the Persians as taking moderate potations. In his discourse on Temperance (Laws I 636) the Athenian stranger speaking on the subject of drink says to Megillus the Lacedæmonian that the Persians again are much given to other practices of luxury which you reject but they have more moderation in them than the Thracians and Scythians.

After Herodotus Xenophon and Plato the next Greek historian of importance is Strabo who flourished in the beginning of the Christian Era. Saying that the Persians as a nation are moderate he attributes whatever there be of immoderation to the kings. He says Their habits are in general temperate *but their kings from the great wealth which they possessed degenerated into a luxurious way of life* (XV C III 22).

The unlicensed luxury and licentiousness of some of the Persian kings of the Achæmenian dynasty have brought an unjust odium upon the whole Persian nation. The hard drinking of the kings and their grantees is one instance of this kind. Instances of unlicensed luxury and licentiousness were confined to the class of kings and their grantees but were not common in the

whole nation. As Herodotus himself says the ancient Persian laws did in no way sanction such acts. But the kings of the Achemenian dynasty thought themselves to be above the law and indulging in them brought an odium upon the whole nation.

The next Greek historian of importance who speaks on the subject is Durius of Samos who flourished in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. His statement that once a year at the feast of Mithras the king of Persia was bound to be drunk has driven two learned scholars of Europe to two opposite conclusions. Professor George Rawlinson of England infers from this that the Persians at the time were addicted to drinking. Professor Papp of Germany on the other hand says that drunkenness as a rule was avoided. The fact that the king intoxicated himself only once during a year showed that as a rule there was no drunkenness. We are inclined to side with Professor Papp when we refer to Firdous for an account of this Mithraic festival. His account refers to the practice of drinking on this gala day but does not speak of any immoderate use of wine either by the king or by the populace. This feast of Mithras is known among the Parsees of India and their co-religionists of Persia by the name of Jashan i Mehergan. It occurs on the 15th day (Meher) of the 7th month (Meher) of a Parsee year. Firdous says that it occurred on the first of the seventh month. Irrespective of the historic event with which it was associated the day was a great festival day like the other twelve festival days of a Parsee year which occur on the day which bears the name of a Parsee month. Again it occurred about the time of the autumnal equinox which was observed as a season festival. Lastly that which gave a great importance to this day was an historical event. It celebrated the anniversary of the accession of King Faridun on the throne of Persia. The great novelist Sir Walter Scott has familiarized to us in his *Talisman* the well known episode of Faridun and Zohak. King Jamshed was overthrown and killed by one Zohak (the Azdahaka of the Avesta) who was an usurper and a tyrant. The whole of Persia groaned under the foreign sway of this great tyrant who came from Syria. King Faridun having freed his country from the yoke of this tyrant ascended the throne of Persia on the auspicious day of the above-named Mithraic feast when his accession was hailed with delight and joy by the whole of Persia. King Faridun celebrated the day as a great holiday and feasted the grantees. Ever since that time the anniversary of that day was celebrated as a great festival in Persia under the name of Jashan i Mehergan. Firdous:

early times and of the time of Cyrus. But after the fall of the Achemenian power reaction set in again and they began to learn moderation once more. As Professor George Rawlinson says: "Their fall from power, their loss of wealth and of dominion did indeed advantage them in one way—it put an end to that continually advancing sloth and luxury which had sapped the virtue of the nation, depriving it of energy, endurance and almost every manly excellence. It dashed the Persians back upon the ground whence they had sprung and whence Artaxerxes like they proceeded to derive fresh vigour and vital force. In their scant and rugged fatherland the people of Cyrus once more recovered to a great extent their ancient prowess and hardihood—their habits became simplified, their old patriotism revived, their self-respect grew greater." (VII. Orient Mon. p. 25). Thus it is that we see them avoiding drunkenness as Ammian says like the pest.

Coming to the time of the Pahlavi literature of the Parsses which flourished during the period of the Sassanian dynasty we find Pahlavi writers permitting the use of wine and preaching moderation. Adarbad Mirespand in his *Pandnameh* or *Book of Advice* thus admonishes his son: "Use a moderate use of wine because he who makes an immoderate use committeth various sinful acts. *Didistanidin* (ch. L. LI) allows the use of wine and admonishes every man to exert control over himself. To the robust and intelligent who can do without wine it recommends abstinence. To others it recommends moderation. A person who gives another a drink is deemed as guilty as the drinker if the latter does any mischief either to himself or to others through the influence of that drink. Only that man is justified to take wine who can thereby do some good to himself or at least can do no harm to himself. If his *hima*, *hukhta* and *hurshta* i.e. his good thoughts, good words and good deeds are in the least perverted by drink he must abstain from it. The book advises a man to determine for himself once for all what moderate quantity he can digest without doing any harm. Having once determined that quantity, he is never to exceed it. The most that a man should take is three glasses of diluted wine. If he exceeds that quantity there is likelihood of his good thoughts, words and deeds being perverted. This reminds us of a Parss-Gujarati saying—

જો એક પીએ તો દારૂ,
બીજુ પીએ તો વારૂ,
ત્રીજુ પીએ તો શગબ,
ચોથું પીએ તો બીજુ ખરાબ

- (i e.) The first cup is a medicinal drink
 The second an allowable thing,
 The third is a luxury
 The fourth brings on misery

On the subject of the trade of wine sellers the Dîdstân-i-chînî says that not only is a man who makes an improper and immoderate use of wine guilty, but also a wine seller who knowingly sells wine to those who make an improper use of it. It was deemed improper and unlawful for a wine seller to continue to sell wine for the sake of his pocket to a customer who was the worse for liquor. He is to make it a point to sell wine to those only who can do some good to themselves by that drink, or at least no harm either to themselves or to others.

The Pahlavi Vinokherad (Chap. XVI. 25-63) speaks of the advantages of moderate drinking and disadvantages of immoderate drinking.

We find from Mahomedan writers that after the downfall of the Persian monarchy the Zoroastrian Persians were the only persons who carried on the business of wine sellers. The Pir-i-Moghân often alluded to by the celebrated Persian poet, Hafiz in this well known Divan is the Parsee wine seller. Wine being altogether prohibited in the Mahomedan scriptures no Mahomedan could carry on this business. So, it fell to a Parsee's lot to do so. In India also and especially in Guzerat, a Parsee liquor seller was for the same reason up to recently, a well known figure in the villages.

We will now speak of some of the usages and customs observed by the Persians when drinking wine. It was generally their custom to drink wine after dinner. The cup bearer went round in the assembly when it met in the hall after dinner.

This appears from Herodotus and from Irdonsi. The latter in his episode (dastan) of Bejan and Manjeh thus speaks of the party that had assembled in the royal palace of Kail husro to participate in the rejoicings for the release of Bejan from the captivity of Afrisiab. Khusrô ordered a table to be spread and invited high minded noblemen to dinner. When they got up from the royal table they prepared a sitting place for drinking wine. It was at one of such assemblies that Afrisiab the Turanian enemy of Persia thought of making through the instrumentality of one Susan Râmashtar an excellent songstress the different brigadiers general of the Persian army of Kail husro prisoners. An intoxicating powder was stealthily put in in the wineglasses of these generals which immediately lulled them to sleep.

In these after dinner assemblies the old Persians deliberated on affairs of importance under the influence of drink "It is also their general practice" says Herodotus "to deliberate upon affairs of weight when they are drunk and then on the morrow, when they are sober, the decision to which they came the night before is put before them by the master of the house in which it was made, and if it is then approved of they act on it, if not they set it aside. Sometimes however they are sober at their first deliberation but in this case they always reconsider the matter under the influence of wine (I 134) Strabo who wrote about five centuries after Herodotus says on the same subject 'Their consultations on the most important affairs are carried on while they are drinking and they consider the resolutions made at that time more to be depended upon than those made when sober (XV, ch 3) According to Prof George Robinson Tacitus refers to a similar custom among the ancient Germans who deliberated upon questions of peace and war in their banquets and reconsidered them the next day 'They deliberated' says Tacitus "on peace and war generally during the banquets as if at no other time was their mind able to conceive higher ideas. People who are not cunning and too sharp always open the secrets of their heart in free jokes. Thus the opened and revealed thoughts of all are again considered the next day. They take into consideration the affair of both times. They deliberate when they are not able to deceive. They resolve when they are not able to err. The reason for this practice as given by Tacitus is this that in banquets under a partial influence of wine all the members of the assembly feel themselves to be on an equal footing and so without any fear or favour, give out their own independent opinions which enable the mover of the question to come to a proper conclusion. We learn the same thing from the Shah nameh of Firdousi who represents Persian kings and heroes deliberating carefully on question of war and peace in their after dinner gatherings when the cup bearer (Saki) was circulating the wine. This custom of the old Persians reminds us of the after dinner speeches of modern times wherein Cabinet Ministers and Councillors while proposing toasts of one kind or another, discuss political questions of great importance to the State. These after dinner Persian assemblies are the banquets of wine spoken about in the Old Testament (Esther v 6) It was at such a banquet that the Persian King Ahasuerus whose identity with any particular Persian monarch is not

not determined¹ sent for his queen Vashiti (which seems to be the Avestaic word *vahishtā* i.e. the best) in order "to shew the people and the princes her beauty for she was fair to look on" and divorced her for not having obeyed the royal mandate. It was at such a 'banquet of wine' that later on Esther the Jewish queen of the same Persian king won the royal favour and secured permission to put to death all those Persians who hated the Jews (Esther ix 5).

Firdousi speaks of another custom. When toasts were proposed and drunk in honour of great persons like the king the assembly prostrated themselves on the ground after drinking wine and kissed the earth. Speaking of such an assembly at which Rustain presided Firdousi says. They first remembered the name of their king (Kāus) then drank wine and then prostrating themselves on the ground kissed it. Just as modern nations show their respect to their ruling sovereigns by drinking to their health while standing so, the ancients paid their homage by prostrating themselves and kissing the ground. Prostrating oneself upon the ground was according to Herodotus the usual way of paying respect to the great. When they met each other in the streets says Herodotus (I 134) you may know if the persons meeting are of equal rank by the following token if they are instead of speaking they kiss each other on the lips in the case where one is a little inferior to the other the kiss is given on the cheek where the difference of rank is great the inferior prostrates himself upon the ground.

Old wine was held in very high esteem in Ancient Persia.

Adarbād speaking of friendship compares an old friend to old wine. He says. An old friend is like old wine. The more it grows

old the more it is fit for kings. It was believed that wine improved by time. We read the same thing in the Bible.

No man also having drunk old wine straightway desireth new for he saith The old is better. (Lule v 39)

It seems that latterly, two sorts of wine were common in Persia. In the remote Avestic times, it was

only made from grapes. But latterly it was also made from dates the fruit of palm trees.

Xenophon in his account of the expedition of Cyrus wherein he played a very prominent part as the leader of The Retreat of the Ten Thousand thus speaks from his own experience — At last coming to the villages² where the

¹ He is identified by some with Xerxes. In Daniel IX 1 Ahazuerus is said to be the father of Darius¹ of the age of the Medes. If we take this Darius to be Darius¹ II then it is Artaxerxes the father of Darius¹ II.

guides told them they might supply themselves with provisions, they found plenty of corn and wine made of the fruit of the palm tree and also vinegar drawn by boiling from the same fruit. These dates such as we have in Greece they give to their domestics, but those which are reserved for the masters are chosen fruit and worthy of admiration both for their beauty and size having in all respects the appearance of amber and so delicious that they are frequently dried for sweetmeats. The wine that was made of it was sweet to the taste but apt to give the headache. (11 3)

APPENDIX

According to Thālibī, King Kaikobād had prohibited the use of wine in Persia in his reign but one day, he saw, that an ordinary man becoming somewhat brave after the drink of a little wine, had the courage of riding a lion under its influence. He then permitted a moderate use of it.

We learn from Firdousi, that similarly, King Behramgore, who had once prohibited its use, later on, permitted it. The story says that at first wine was permitted in Persia and Behramgore himself drank it. At one time he was the guest of a great villager (dehkan) Meher Bid'ad by name. A guest in the camp Kurui by name, at one time got so much drunk, that he could not take care of himself, and he got so much unconscious that crows attacked him and blinded him. The king seeing this the abuse of wine, ceased drinking wine and prohibited its use in his country. The Royal proclamation said —

Harâm ʿet mac bir Jehân sıf ha sar

Agar pehlwan 1st vā pisheh var' 1 11 Wine is altogether unlawful in the world whether (the drinker) is a hero or a tradesman After a year a lion got loose from the royal stable The son of a cobbler who was at first impotent but had regained his potency by the use of wine given to him by his mother, ran after the lion and holding him by his ears got over it and bravely rode on it The king learning this piece of bravery as the result of a drink of wine withdrew his order of prohibition The Royal proclamation said —

kharushu baramad hamon lah ze der

Ke ac phlwan'in : zatin kamur

Bar andāz h bar har kasi ma khuri!

Ze aghār Yurdm khūd be negard

¹ Mercuri et alcutta Ed. Iton, V 1 III p. 149; Kuntz in others Ed. V 1 VIII p. 29; Ed. v. 1, all. 111, 112, V 1 V p. 464.

71. *fel* = the text; *Mosayn* = 60; *tta* = I; *thon* = you; *vel* = ill; *s* = let; *ku* = at; *il* = there;
 72. *vel* = ill; *ill* = 51; *sh* = as; *ast* = all; *es* = from; *y* = I; *y* = 2^d; *d* = C.

were ordered to be kept in their natural state The King, then, in order to test the quality of the juice, sent for an old man who was wrecked in health and gave him some juice to drink He had hardly finished one third of the quantity given him, when he began to jump to loosen his dress to clap his hands to jolt his head to leap over his two feet to look gay and to sing The King thus saw that the juice was not a poison and that it rejuvenated the old man Then he gave some more juice to him The old man thereupon went to sleep On awakening he looked well all his illness having left him The King saw that the drink had given to the old man joy of heart gaiety good digestion calmness sleep and good spirits He therefore asked more vines to be planted At first he prohibited the general use of wine saying that it was only a royal homage Later on all began to drink wine

Maçoudi at the end of the above story, adds that some attribute to Noah the first cultivation of vine

A MAHOMEDAN VIEW OF COMETS THE VIEW OF THE ANCIENT IRĀNIANS (PISHINIGĀNS)

I

We are on the eve of seeing Halley's comet this year or early next year. Some observers have already seen it with their powerful telescopes. The Directors of the Heidelberg and the Cambridge Observatories have already seen it. The Director of the latter Observatory has announced that its appearance is like that of a star of the 14th or 15th magnitude. At this juncture I hope that an account of the comets given by some Mahomedan historians will be found interesting. I think that a part of account will be of some interest even to scientific men because if I do not mistake the account of the comets by Abul Fazl which will form the principal part of my paper will be presented for the first time before the students of cometography. I propose dealing with the following matter in this paper

- 1 The version of some Mahomedan historians about comets
- 2 The identification of the comets seen or described by them
- 3 An inquiry into the views of Mahomedan writers on comets

Let of the Mahomedan authors whose versions I propose giving or whom I am going to refer to in this paper are the following

1 Maçoudi who lived at the end of the third century and in the first half of the fourth century. There is only one reference to a comet in his *Murudj adh Dīlahab* (Prairies of gold)

2 Abul Fazl the celebrated Prime Minister of King Akbar of India. He describes in his *Albar nameh* a comet that he had seen in the 22nd year of the reign of Akbar (985 Hijri 1577-78 A.D). Before describing this comet he writes as it were a long introduction giving not only his view of the phenomenon of the appearance of a comet but the view of the learned of his time. While doing so he refers to Greek, Roman, Egyptian and Hindu writers on the subject also. Having given his introduction he describes three comets that had appeared before his time. Of course this must be on the authority of some previous writers whom he does not name. This account of the comets will I hope interest some scientific men. As far as I know that portion of the *Akbar nameh* which gives this

¹ This paper had at first appeared in an issue of the *Revue du Monde Musulman* (10 An 65 No 111) and spoke of the paper as containing "des recherches et études de recherche sur un point mal connu de l'histoire et de la science musulmanes".

long account of the comets is not hitherto translated into any other language. I give my own translation in which I have followed the text edited for the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Maulana Abul ur Rahim

3 Ahmad bin Mahmud's *Viqriratin* written in 1552 A.D.

4 Nizam ud din the author of the *Tabakat-i Akbari*

5 Badaoni the author of the *Muntakhab-al Tawarikh*

6 Jahangir's *Ilaka'at-i Jahāngiri*

7 Mutamad Khan's *Ikbal nameh-i Jahāngiri*

I will now give the version of the Mahomedan historians I have named above. I will give the versions of four in the words of their translators. The rest I have translated from the original.

I will give at first Abul Fazl's version about the comets as it is the large t and fullest. As said above I give my own translation of his version in the Akbar nameh.

II

ABUL FAZL'S VERSION OF THE COMETS OF 1264

1400 1401 1433 AND 1577 IN HIS AKBAR NAMEH

In the matter of the appearance of a tailed comet which appeared after sunset (*it* after the time of the sitting of the great luminary which bestows favours upon the world—on the chair of the crust of the Earth)

A Preface is written for a complete comprehension of the description of the symbol of the Heavens

When the rays of the world illuminating sun fall on the molten earth it is heated by the lustre of that exalted luminary and some of the particles of water becoming lighter rise upward and mixing with particles of air take an upward direction. This mixture is called 'vapour' (*bokhar*)

When the parched earth becomes the seat of the heat of the illuminator of the world (*i.e.* when it is heated by the sun) the essence of moisture from its embuscade is attracted to dryness. Then by the influence of the heat particles of earth being heated become lighter and after mixing themselves with air fly above and that inter mixture is called 'steam' (*dakhin*)

Each of these is of two kinds. One is confined to the Earth and 'springs' streamlets and streams come into appearance.*

* Maulana Abul ur-Rahim's Text for *The Akbar-i-Soray-i-Faraj* vol. III pp. 221-22

* This refers to the action of what Abul Fazl calls *dakhin* or steam. Here he explains not in a clear or distinct way how streams and springs are formed. Modern science also attributes to the formation of seas, the rise of springs, etc. Prof. Anstead's following description elucidates what Abul Fazl says:

or the like. Depending on the differences of its position it fades soon or lasts long. At times dreadful red¹ or black forms appear in it. The red forms when thick add to the terror. When thicker, it is the black forms that cause terror. In the ancient language such a form is named *sawabî : najum*² or *Zawât ul azîcab*³. Every one (of these forms) has a different name according to its feature. Thus the one with locks is called *Zuzarabê* (i.e. the possessor of locks of hair) and the one with a tail is called *Zuzanâb* (i.e. the possessor of a tail).

In Indian books more than 100 (names) are recounted. In Greek books 7 kinds are recognized and all are considered to be of the nature of Saturn or Mars. Those with locks of hair and those with tails are known to be more unlucky. Bathimus (Ptolemy) says that between the hairy comets and the sun there is the difference of 11 constellations. Some Greeks are of opinion that the hairy comets appear towards the West in the early part of the evening. Certainly from the repeated sight (of such phenomena) such a supposition can be made.

‘The wise men of India divide them into two kinds and take them to be auspicious and inauspicious (respectively). All are unanimous in saying this that its (i.e. the comet’s) influence is reflected upon the country over whose zenith it passes or whose best inhabitants see it. It moves according to the position of the constellation in which it appears and in accordance with the strength of the motion of the region of fire⁴. Its influences appear in proportion to (the time of) its stay (i.e.) the longer it appears the greater its influences as to good or bad luck to the country. In the writings of the ancients *nirangs* (نیرنگ, incantations) for (counteracting) these influences are mentioned more than can be described.

Out of all (these comets) one hairy comet appeared in the year 662 Hijri⁵. The increaser of the splendour of the world (Farugh afza : âlam) was in the sign of Leo and had gone about 11 fingers⁶ down the earth (i.e. had set) in the night. The stranger thing was that (i.e. the comet) appeared to be of the proportion of the head of a big man and emitted steam from its front. It passed (i.e. appeared) in the countries of Tibet, Turkestan, China, Kashghar, Farghana, Ma wara n n nahr

1 Cf. the description of the appearance of Halley’s comet in 1835 by Mr. Howard. It glowed like a red hot coal of oblong form. It appeared like a blazing rocket. (The story of Halley’s comet in *The Nineteenth Century* of September 1909 p. 53)

2 Lit. a keeper of the ward robe of the stars.

3 I.e. mistress of locks.

4 Compare with these the words ‘The Chariot of Fire’ applied to a comet by Mr. E. Vincent Howard in his *Story of Halley’s Comet*. *The Nineteenth Century* of September 1909 p. 512.

5 A.C. 1664.

6 A kind of measure.

(Transoxania) and Khorasan. It appeared for 85 days. In all these countries, there arose rebellions. In Transoxania and Khorasan calamities of thunder¹ and lightning and such others appeared.

"Many years and months had passed over this event and then in 803², a tailed comet appeared in the zenith at Rûm (Constantinople). Maulâna Abdallâsan and Mahiâd-dîn Maghrâbî with other astrologers of that time informed Timur, that, it appears from what the wise and the experienced have said, that an army (coming) from the direction of the East will be victorious in that country and a general from that country will assist (him). Timur (*lit.* that Illuminator of the face of fortune), who was always expecting an invasion of the country, but whose companions of poor intelligence did not acquiesce, attended to that (prediction) and convinced the great and the small (of his court) of the truth (*lit.* gem) of his resolution and of the insight of the star-seers.

"In the year 837³, on the occasion of a new moon in the first part of Libra, a tailed comet appeared (*lit.* gave brilliancy to the day) near the 17th lunar mansion in the North. It rose and set with it. After the lapse of several days, its special motion appeared. From that 17th lunar mansion in the North, (a form like that of) a lance-holder separated (*lit.* assumed the face of separation), and in eight months, took the path of the Camel. A great pestilence spreading misery (round about) appeared in Herat and its dependencies. Every day more than a thousand persons died. Mirza Ibrâhîm, the Governor of Fars and Mirza Bysangar Arghun, the king of Badakhshan, and Shaikh Zainud-din Khâfi died in this calamity. A fierce quarrel, which took place between Mirza Shâh-rokh and Sikandar Karâ-Yu-ef, was also in consequence of this (comet).

"The learned in the mysteries of the Heavens are convinced of this, that if it appears within the boundaries of a country, its king or his vicerent dies. If it is inclined towards the boundary, the property (*i.e.* the country of the governor) passes away from his hands⁴ and plague and diseases add afflictions to the sickness of the country. Sudden deaths occur among the common people.

¹ Taking the word to be ra'ad رعد, The Bengal Asiatic Society's text gives the word as kayad (کاید) which is the last star in the tail of the Lesser Bear. It also means a governor. But these seem to have no proper meaning here. In the foot note, it gives rayad (راید) as found in another manuscript. I think it is mistaken for ra'ad (رعد) which suits well with the next word (براق) barâq, flashing.

² A. D. 1401. ³ A. D. 1437.

⁴ Cf. the words of Louis le Debonnaire on seeing Halley's comet in 837 A. D. He said: "A change of reign and the death of a prince are announced by this sign" (The story of Halley's comet, in *The Nineteenth Century* of September, 1905, p. 518).

"A thousand thanks to God that owing to the benedictions of the holy soul of the King (Akbar) influences and misfortunes have disappeared from his dominions. If in case such a terrible sign (*i.e.* a comet) appears a great calamity does not overtake this country. In spite of such divine protection that intelligent person of the assembly of information (*i.e.* the intelligent well informed King Akbar) ordered alms to be distributed on a large scale according to the customs of the Mahomedans and Brahmins and people of all places became cheerful. The most beautiful thing of this great liberality (*i.e.* the result of this alms giving) was this. On the day Arad (Arshang) the 25th of the Ilahi month Aban at the time when the sun made his conspicuous appearance in the sign Scorpio this heavenly sign (*i.e.* the tailed comet) kindled its brilliant face in the sign of Sagittarius faced towards the West (and) inclined towards the North. It had a long tail. It had reached such a limit that in many towns they saw it for five months. The well informed astrologers and those skilled in the mysteries belonging to the higher (*i.e.* celestial) assembly explained it thus.

That among some of the inhabited parts Hindustan there will be a scarcity of grain and they specified some particular places. The time of the ruler of Iran will come to an end and in Irak and Khorasan there will arise disturbances." All that was said came to pass without anything being less or diminished. A short time after a caravan came from Iran. Some of its well informed men of truthful mind informed His Majesty of the death of Shah Tahmasp and of the murder of Sultan Haidar and of the accession to the throne of Shah Ismail.

The purport of all this detailed account is this. The king of heavenly abode (*i.e.* King Tahmasp) died in Kazvin in the beginning of the Ilahi month Khordad.¹

III

VERSION FROM OTHER MAHOMEDAN WORKS

I will now give the version of the other Mahomedan writers in the order in which I have named them above.

Ma'roufi's	Ma'roufi speaking of the events of the
Mir'at al uli	Hijri year 239 (911 I ^o A.C.) thus speaks
Dhal ib	of the appearance of a comet in that year

Une grêle énorme compaee de grâons pesant un mill poud de Baedat tombe sur Koufah en meme temps qu'une bourras que de sirocco un mois de ramadin plusieurs maisons et edi

¹ Here I follow an account as to how Mir Tahmasp died and how Haidar was murdered in Shah Ismail came to the throne.

lices sont renversés. Ce sinistre est suivi d'un tremblement de terre qui coûte la vie à un grand nombre d'habitants. Ces désastres eurent lieu à Koufah en 299 — La même année est signalée par un tremblement de terre en Egypte et par l'apparition d'une comète.

In the year 330 (Hijri)³ there appeared a Comet whose tail appeared from the East to the West. It remained for eighteen days. From the influence of this inauspicious sign one *jarib*⁴ of wheat cost 320 golden *muskals*⁵. When one ear of corn was worth a beast of burden⁶ the price of wheat rose so high. Men ate one another out of hunger. In the time of famine a plague appeared so (virulent) that people had not the strength of burying the dead.

At this period at the time of evening prayer a comet appeared in the sky towards Arabia inclining to the North and continued very awful for two hours. The opinion of the Astrologers was that the effects would not be felt in Hindustan but probably in Khorásan and Irak. Shortly afterwards, Shah Ismail son of Shah Tahmasp Safavi departed this life and great troubles arose in Persia.—⁸

I have given Elliot's translation but have corrected it in one place. The first part of the passage as given by Nizām ud din runs thus: دگر طاهر شد دور دایم در وقت
بهار شام در طرف جنوب مائش مشعال دور دایم روی ()
آسای طاهر شد

Elliot seems to be wrong in translating the word *dar tarf* Arab by towards the East. The word Arab does not mean East. It simply means Arabia. So the words should be

¹ MACOLDI trad. t par Barlet de Meynard vol VIII p 19

^a In this translation I have followed the text published in *Leidsche Bijl.* = 14. 1 A. 1 D.

at the instance of Captain George Jervis (گپٹان جورج جیورس صاحب)

1 0 1 16 et seq. 1 *lc* ELLIOT *History of Illa* vol II appx div p 82

⁴ Jarib is a cron measure equal to four qafiz. Qafiz is a measure containing about 24 lbs in weight. (Steinmass)

5 ⁶ A weight of a dram and three sevenths (Ste 1 L 765)

⁶ Parvin. It also means 'clades'.
The beginning of the 3rd year of Jahangir's reign corresponded with 1073/1663.

11 on 1 Mar 1980 H (11th March 1980)

9 Tab kāt | Akbarī *Mu sh* \ *of A store* a lithographed edition of 1801 (19
H [r]) p 349 ll 34

translated 'towards Arabia'. Now as Arabia is in the West the words may be translated 'towards the West'. This translation will then tally with the statements of Badaoni and Abul Fazi who say that the comet appeared in the West (مغرب, maghreb).

There is one thing to be noticed in Nizam ud din's writing. He uses the word 'dur danch' (دور دانش) for a comet. I do not find the word in the well known *Persian English dictionaries* of Richardson and Steingass nor in the *English-Persian dictionary* of Woolaston. The *Tubakāt-i Akbari* alone uses it for "a comet". I think this word is an attempt to render into Persian 'Gurcheher' the Pahlavi word for comet which can also be read 'dur cheher'. We will speak of the Pahlavi word at some length later on.

Among the unexpected events (one) was this that in the same year a comet appeared from the direction of the west. When Shah Mansur left a long tail from behind in the corner of his turban they named him (in joke) a tailed comet. The effects of this comet appeared in that country.

Badaoni like Abul Fazi places the event in the 22nd year of Ling Akhar's reign while Nizam ud din as seen above places it in the 23rd year. Elliot thus explains the discrepancy.

'The twenty second year began on the 20th Zil hijja 984 and being a solar year it extended over the whole of Hijja 985 and ended on the 1st day of 986. The oversight of this fact has given rise to some confusion in the dates about this period and the events here recorded as having occurred in the twenty-third year of the reign are placed by Abul Fazi in the twenty-second.'

When identifying the comet of Ling Akbar's reign later on we will see that it appeared in 1577 the 22nd year of Akbar's reign.

The version of the author of the *Wakā'at-i Jahangiri* about the two comets that appeared in 1618 in king Jahaogir's reign runs thus (ELLIOT'S *History of India* vol VI p 363).

Jahāngir's *Wakā'at-i Jahangiri*: 'Saturday 17th Zil ka da³ Several nights before this a little before dawn a luminous vapour in the form of a column

¹ Lees and Abu ad Ali's *Text* vol II p 449 l 16, p 450 l 1. I give my translation from this text. *Fade Lo ve s tra shillon* vol II p 448. I also *L'Empereur Akbar parle* Con te F A De Noer traduit de l'alleman par Bonet Maury vol I p 46.

² Elliot's *History of India* vol I p 413 no 1.

³ The year was Hijri 1074 A.D. 1618. The date corresponds to 101 March 1618.

⁴ de Elliot's *History of India* vol VI p 366.

had made its appearance and every succeeding night it arose half an hour earlier than on the preceding night. When it had attained its full development it looked like a spear with the two ends thin but thick about the middle. It was a little curved like a reaping sickle with its back towards the South and its edge towards the North. On the date above mentioned it rose three hours before sunrise. The astronomers measured its size with their astrolabes and on an average of different observations it was found to extend 24 degrees. Its course was in the empyrean heaven but it had a proper motion of its own independent of that firmament as it was retrograde—first appearing in the sign of the Scorpio then in that of the Scyres. Its declination was southerly. Astrologers call such a phenomenon a spear and have written that it portends evil to the chiefs of Arabia and the establishment of an enemy's power over them. God only knows if this be true!

'Sixteen nights after its first appearance a comet appeared in the same quarter having a shining nucleus with a tail in appearance about two or three yards long but in the tail there was no light or splendour. Up to the present time nearly eight years have elapsed since its first appearance and when it disappears I shall take care to record it as well as the effects which have resulted from it.'

From the above extract perhaps one may be led to suppose that the comet continued to appear for eight years. We will explain this matter later on while identifying this comet.

The version of Mutamadkhan in his *Ikkal Nameh* : *Jahan Mutamadkhan* : runs thus (ELLIOT'S *History of India* vol I *Ilbālnāmeḥ* : *Jahāngir* VI pp 406 7)

"On the 16th of December an hour and a quarter before the dawn of the day there appeared in the atmosphere a vaporious matter in the shape of a column and it was seen half an hour earlier every succeeding night. When it appeared in its full form it resembled the shape of a javelin. It was thin at both ends and thick and crooked in the middle like a sickle. Its back was towards the south and its face towards the north. The astronomers measured its size by means of an astrolabe and upon a comparison of different observations it was found to extend over 24 degrees. It moved with the highest of the heavens but had a proper motion of its own so that it first appeared in the sign of Scorpio and in a short time left it and entered that of Libra. It also had a southerly declination. Astrologers in their books mention such a phenomenon under the name of a javelin. Sixteen nights after its appearance a star was seen in the

same direction the head of which was luminous but its tail which was two or three yards long emitted no light It was in consequence of its appearance that a pestilential disorder (*umbed o lâ un*) spread throughout this extensive country of Hindustân which exceeded everything known and recorded in former ages nor is there any mention made of such in the authentic works of the Hindus The pestilence arose in the country one year before the appearance of the phenomenon and continued to rage for eight years It was also through the effects of this phenomenon that a misunderstanding arose between His Majesty and the fortunate Prince Shah Jahan The disturbances which thus originated lasted seven or eight years What blood was shed in the country and what families were ruined!

At this time it was learnt from the petition of Bahadur Khan governor of Kandhar that in the environs and dependencies of the city the mice had increased to such an extent that they left no trace of either crops or fruits With the greatest difficulty perhaps only one fourth of the produce was saved to the cultivators In the same manner the fields of melons and the produce of orchards and vineyards were totally destroyed and when no fruit and no corn remained in the gardens and in the fields by degrees the mice all died off

IV

IDENTIFICATION OF THE COMETS

We will now proceed to identify the comets described by the above named Mahomedan authors Mr J Russell Hind's book on comets has been of great use to me in identifying them The comet referred to by Nizam ud din's Tabakht-i Akbari and by Badrî's *Muntakhab ul Tawarikh* is the same as that which is the fourth in the list of Alûl I'azl so they do not require a separate identification We will proceed in our work of identification in the chronological order of their appearance The oldest comet referred to is the one mentioned by Maqûdî

The comet of Hijri 233 (911-912 AD) referred to by Maqûdî is Halley's comet in one of its previous revolutions Mr Russell Hind in his book on Comets gives a table of the most probable epochs of the perihelion passages of Halley's comet commencing from H. B. C. Therein we find its 13th appearance in 912 AD This date corresponds to Maqûdî's Hijri date 233

Elliot¹ surmised that the comet of Hijri 330 (941 942 A.D.)

² The comet referred to in the Nigârîstân

referred to in the Nigârîstân was Halley's comet one of whose probable appearance has been reckoned to be in 930 A.D. He surmised that, as there is always a difference of a few months between each period of its appearance due to the action of planets and to other causes this difference of nearly 11 years may be accounted. But Russel Hind has in his book² on Comets given a list of the epochs of its perihelion passages on former occasion from the date of its last appearance 1835 A.D. to 11 B.C. We do not find in that list its appearance in 941 942 or thereabouts. So for the present we must take it as an unidentified comet.

The first comet referred to by Abul Fazl is that of the year 1263-1264 (Hijri 662). This comet is

³ Abul Fazl's comets

comet III of Fergusson's list³. It passed its perihelion on 6th July 1264 at 6 h 50' 39" according to the meridian of Greenwich⁴. Mr Hind says of it that it was a great comet and that it was accompanied by a train fully 100° long agreeably to the Chinese description while European contemporaries tell us when the head was just clear of the eastern horizon the tail stretched past the mid heaven westward which seems to indicate an extent of more than 90°⁵.

Further on Hind speaks thus of this great comet. One of the grandest comets mentioned in history is that which made its appearance in the middle of the year 1264. It is recorded in terms of wonder and astonishment by nearly all the historians of the age no one then living had seen any to be compared to it. It was at the height of its splendour in the month of August and during the early part of September. When the head was just visible above the eastern horizon in the early morning sky the tail stretched out past the mid heaven towards the west or was fully 100° in length. Both Chinese and European writers testify to its enormous magnitude. In China the tail was not only 100° long but appeared curved in the form of a sabre. Its movement was from Leo through Cancer and Gemini into Orion. It continued visible until the beginning of October. Historians generally agreeing in dating its last appearance on the 2nd of October or on the night of the death of Pope Urban IV of which event it seems to have been considered the precursor

¹ Elliot & History of India, vol III p 506 n 1

² The Comets by J Russel Hind 1852 p 57

³ Ferguson's Astronomy explained upon Sir Isaac Newton's principles by Dav Brewster, 1811 vol II, p 360

⁴ The Comets by J Russel Hind 1852 p 1st Hind gives the hour as 1.51

⁵ Hind p 1.

"Some rough approximations to the elements have been attempted in the first instance by Mr Dunthorne in the middle of the last century, and subsequently by M Pingre the well-known French writer upon the history of comets"¹

According to Russel Hind, the comet of 1556 which according to Fergusson's list passed its perihelion on 21st April was the same comet appearing after a period of 292 years. Then, it was not nearly so conspicuous as in 1264 but still was "a great and brilliant star"². It seems to have gradually lost its brilliancy. Hind³ predicted its return between 1856-1860. Two comets⁴ have appeared within the period in 1859 and 1860, but none has been clearly identified with it.

Abul Fazl referring to the sign of Leo, also says, that it was seen in Tibet Turkestan China Káshghar Fraghana Mawara'-unnahr (Transoxania) and Khorassan and that it continued to appear for 80 days. From this, we see that it was a great comet and was seen even in China in the farthest east. All these facts and the year identify Abul Fazl's comet of 662 Hijri as the great comet of 1264.

We are not able to identify the second comet of Abul Fazl (Hijri 803 A.D. 1400-1401) with any of the comets in the lists given in modern astronomy.

Coming to his third comet (Hijri 837 A.D. 1433-1434) I think it is the same as that of 1433 referred to by Russel Hind⁵ in his list of comets. It passed its perihelion on the 4th or 5th of November 1433. It was also observed by the Chinese⁶.

The fourth comet referred to by Abul Fazl (Hijri 925 A.D. 1576-1577) is the comet IX of Fergusson's list⁷ which passed its perihelion on 26th of October 1577. Russel Hind also gives this comet in his list⁸. It was of this comet that Tycho Brahe found "that it had no diurnal parallax and that it was therefore situated at a much greater distance than the moon. This comet has been identified by Ellis⁹.

¹ Ibid. 11. 116-117.

² The Comet. p. 11.

³ Ibid. p. 17.

⁴ Newcomb's Astronomy for 1875 p. 1.

⁵ The Comet's 1. well listed p. 17.

⁶ Ibid. p. 141.

⁷ Fergusson's Astronomy by Leverrier Vol. II. p. 29.

⁸ The Comet by J. Russel Hind p. 174.

⁹ Fergusson's Astronomy by Leverrier vol. II. p. 33.

¹⁰ J. J. Ellis. History of the Comet p. 17.

The *Wakiat i Jahangiri* refers to two comets that appeared in Jahangir's reign. Both appeared in the same year (Hijri 1027 A.D. 1617-1618) and after a short interval. We also find both referred to in the *Wakiat i Jahangiri* and in the *Ikbāl-nāmah i Jahangiri*: from Fergusson¹ and Russel Hind² that two comets had appeared in 1618. The first had passed its perihelion on the 17th of August 1618 and the second on the 8th of November 1618.

Hind speaks of the second as "a splendid comet" and as "one of the finest ever observed"³. But according to the *Wakiat i Jahangiri* it was the first that was more splendid. Of the second he says that it appeared sixteen nights after the first and that there was no light or splendour in its tail. In connection with this matter of difference between the Mahomedan writer and the later Christian writer it is worth noting that according to Hind the observations of Kepler on the first of the two comets were somewhat imperfect⁴.

From the description of the *Wakiat i Jahangiri* one may be led to think that the comet continued to appear for eight years. But as the *Ikbāl-nāmah*'s description of the same comet which to a certain extent follows that of the *Wakiat i Jahangiri* points out the reference is to the supposed disastrous and unlucky influences of the comet. These were believed to have lasted long for nearly eight years.

We will here give a list of the comets referred to in this paper which will present to the reader at one sight the dates of their appearances and an idea of their identification. In giving the Christian dates of the Hijri years of the Mahomedan authors I have followed this rule:

From the given number of Mahomedan years deduct 3 per cent and to the remainder add 621.54. The corresponding rule for vice versa is: From the given number of Christian years deduct 621.54 and to the remainder add 3 per cent of the same. Wollaston gives at the end of his *English Persian Dictionary* a list of the Mahomedan years and their corresponding Christian years.

¹ Fergusson's *Astronomy*, 1st Br. water. ed. II p. 30.

² *The Comets* by Russell Hind, 1878.

³ *Ibid.* p. 144.

⁴ *Id.* p. 144.

The book referring to the comet	Hijri year	Christian year	My identification of the Comet
1 Murudj udh Dha hab	299	911-12	Halley's Comet in 912 A D
2 Ahmad bin Mah mad's Nigârîstân	330	941-12	Unidentified
3 Abul Fazl's Akbar nameh	662	1263-64	The comet which passed its perihelion on 6th July 1264
4 Ditto	803	1400-01	Unidentified
5 Ditto	837	1433-34	The comet which according to Russel Hind passed its perihelion on 4th or 5th November 1433
6 (a) Abul Fazl's Akbar nameh (b) Nizam uddin's Fatahât i Akbari (c) Badaoni's Mun takhbat ut-Tawarikh	955	1577-78	The comet that passed its perihelion on 26th October 1577
7 The Wakiât i Jahangiri (b) and Ikhtâr nameh	1027	1618	The comet that passed its perihelion on 17th August 1618
8 The Wakiât i Jahangiri	1027	1618	The comet that passed its perihelion on 8th November 1618

V

AN INQUIRY INTO THE VIEWS OF THE
MAHOMEDAN WRITERS ON COMETS

We will now examine the statements of these Mahomedan authors at some length. All of them with the exception of Abul Fazl have mostly described the appearances of the comets which fell under their own observations or whose observations were noticed by some previous writers whose descriptions they followed. It is Abul Fazl alone who not only describes the appearances of the comets but enters into a kind of description about the theory of their formation, etc., so we will examine his statement and where necessary, see how far he is supported by other Mahomedan authors and by other ancient writers.

The contents of Abul Fazl's long article on comets in the *Albar nâmeh* can be divided and examined under the following heads

1° The general theory explaining the phenomenon,

2° The influences attributed to their appearance by the people,

3° The view of the *pishunigân* (i.e., the ancients) referred to by him and their *nirangs* or incantation prayers to avert the influences of the comets

Abul Fazl connects this phenomenon with the formation of what he calls *bokhâr* (i.e. vapour) and *dakhân*

(i.e., steam). To speak of it in the modern scientific phraseology he connects it with the

phenomenon of evaporation. He says that its appearance is due to the vapour floating in the air as the result of the process of evaporation. But though the vapour is thus always in the air the appearance of the comet is rare. So he says that its appearance in the heavens is due to a particular position of the planets Mars and Mercury in the heavens.

As to the theory about the presence of vapours in the comet we find that modern scientists also refer to them and say that the luminosity is due to them. Sir George

Gabriel Stokes¹ says on this point

There can no longer be any doubt that the nucleus consists in its inner portions at least of vapour of some kind and we must now add incandescent vapour, nor does there appear to be any reasonable doubt that in most comets this vapour

¹ Nature Series. Barnett Lectures on Light by Sir George Gabriel Stokes 1899, pp. 210-213

consists of, or contains, some volatile compound of carbon, unless it be carbon itself vaporized by the heat of the sun. Now it is conceivable that if the nucleus of a comet be endowed with an atmosphere, or perhaps even coated with a liquid, having in a high degree the combination of the transparent and athermanous characters of glass, its temperature when exposed to radiation from the sun might rise much above what it might have expected *a priori*."

Though Abûl Fazl's reference to vapours as the comet is correct even from the modern scientific point of view, his inference that the vapour is the vapour rising from our earth is wrong. He takes it to be an ordinary meteorological phenomenon which is not correct as the comet appears in the ultra terrestrial regions. Abûl Fazl refers to terrestrial evaporation, while, according to the modern view, it is the evaporation of a volatile liquid of an object in the ultra terrestrial regions. The *Ikhlâ-namêh* : *Johângîr*¹ also connects the phenomenon with a vaporous matter in the atmosphere. The *Wakîât* : *Jahângîr* also speaks of "a luminous vapour"².

It is one of the features, which a comet generally takes, that seems to have led Abûl Fazl and others to assume that it is a terrestrial meteorological phenomenon. As pointed out by Prof. Newcomb,³ one of the three features which a comet embodies is that of the nucleus which is surrounded by "a cloudy nebulous mass like a little bunch of fog, shading off very gradually towards the edge." The comet "looks like a star shining through a patch of mist or fog." So, it is this mist or foggy appearance that seems to have led Abûl Fazl and others to conceive the appearance of a comet to be a terrestrial phenomenon occurring within the limits of the strata of the earth's atmosphere.

Thus, Abûl Fazl and some other Mahomedan authors partially reflect the views of the early ages of science. Fergusson says "In the early ages of science, the comets were regarded as an assemblage of small stars that had accidentally coalesced into one body, and afterwards they were believed to be simple meteors or exhalations generated by inflammable vapours in the earth's atmosphere."⁴

The view that comets are atmospheric phenomena was held upto as late as Tycho Brahe's time. Astronomer Heath thus speaks on this point. "The ancient philosophers believed that comets existed in the earth's atmosphere. This idea was first

¹ *Finot's History of India* vol VI p 406

² *Ikhlâ-namêh* : *Johângîr* vol VI p 363

³ *Astronomy for Everybody* a popular exposition of the wonders of the Heavens by Prof. Simon Newcomb, with an introduction by Sir Robert S. Ball 1903 p 26.

⁴ *Fergusson's Astronomy* by Dr Brewster 1811, vol II p 354-55

exploded by Tycho Brahe who showed by actual measurements that the comet of 1577 moved in a space at a distance from the earth farther away than the moon and therefore far beyond the confines of the earth's atmosphere¹

Abul Fazl's
view about the
forms assumed by
the comets

While explaining the origin of the appearance of the comet Abul Fazl speaks of the various forms which the comets assume. He says that the comets assume the following forms

- (a) A man with locks of hair
- (b) A person having a tail
- (c) A person holding a lance in his hand,
- (d) An animal

(a) The first form mentioned by Abul Fazl is that of a person with locks is that which is also referred to by modern scientific writers on comets. They say that the nucleus or the central nebulous mass is surrounded by a hairy mass. The very word comet is derived from coma the latin word for hair because it looks hairy. This hairy portion is called coma. The nucleus and the coma together form what is called head. We find that the use of the word 'head' for a part of the body of the comet which is hairy is ancient. The Bundehesh² a Pahlavi book of the Parsees speaks of the head and tail (royashman va dūmb) of a comet.

One of the several Persian words for a comet is zuzunāb, i.e., the possessor of locks of hair. A story is told of Prof. Barnard showing a photograph of a comet to a lady. On looking at it she is reported to have said 'Why³ that comet looks as if it had been out all night.' That remark can be more true from the point of view of its hairy portion than from that of its tail.

(b) The second form of the comet referred to by Abul Fazl is that of a person with a tail. One of the several Persian words for a comet is zuzanāh, i.e., the possessor of a tail. Our general notion of a comet is this that it is a tailed star and that as such it always carries a tail. So Abul Fazl's distinction between the comets as those with locks of hair or hairy comets and tailed comets appears strange at first thought. But we must remember that, at times the comet is not seen in all its perfection. Generally the nucleus or the part which forms the hairy portion is not seen at all and at other times it is the tail that is not seen at all. Prof. Newcomb says

¹ *The Twentieth Century Atlas of Popular Astronomy* by Thomas Heath 1903 p. 93

² Chap. XXVIII 44 S. B. E. vol. 1880 p. 113

³ *Modern Astronomy* by Turner 1901 p. 226

consists of or contains some volatile compound of carbon unless it be carbon itself vaporized by the heat of the sun. Now it is conceivable that if the nucleus of a comet be endowed with an atmosphere, or perhaps even coated with a liquid, having in a high degree the combination of the transparent and othermanous characters of glass, its temperature when exposed to radiation from the sun might rise much above what we might have expected *a priori*."

Though Abûl Fazl's reference to vapours in the comet is correct even from the modern scientific point of view, his inference that the vapour is the vapour rising from our earth is wrong. He takes it to be an ordinary meteorological phenomenon which is not correct as the comet appears in the ultra terrestrial regions. Abûl Fazl refers to terrestrial evaporation, while, according to the modern view, it is the evaporation of a volatile liquid of an object in the ultra terrestrial regions. The *Ikbâl nameh : Jahângirî*¹ also connects the phenomenon with a vaporous matter in the atmosphere. The *Wakiât : Jahânârî* also speaks of "a luminous vapour :"

It is one of the features which a comet generally takes, that seems to have led Abul Fazl and others to assume that it is a terrestrial meteorological phenomenon. As pointed out by Prof. Newcomb,² one of the three features which a comet embodies is that of the nucleus which is surrounded by "a cloudy nebulous mass like a little bunch of fog, shading off very gradually towards the edge." The comet "looks like a star shining through a patch of mist or fog." So, it is this misty or foggy appearance that seems to have led Abûl Fazl and others to conceive the appearance of a comet to be a terrestrial phenomenon occurring within the limits of the strata of the earth's atmosphere.

Thus, Abûl Fazl and some other Mahomedan authors partially reflect the views of the early ages of science. Fergusson says "In the early ages of science, the comets were regarded as an assemblage of small stars that had accidentally coalesced into one body, and afterwards they were believed to be simple meteors or exhalations generated by inflammable vapours in the earth's atmosphere."³

The view that comets are atmospheric phenomena was held up to as late as Tycho Brahe's time. Astronomer Heath thus speaks on this point. "The ancient philosophers believed that comets existed in the earth's atmosphere. This idea was first

¹ Elliot's History of India vol VI p 406

² Elliot's History of India vol VI p 383

³ Astronomy for Everybody a popular exposition of the wonders of the Heavens by Sir Simon Newcomb, with an introduction by Sir Robert A. Ball 1903 p 25.

⁴ Ferguson's Astronomy by Dr Brewster 1811 vol II p 354 55

Pliny¹ refers to the following forms assumed by the comets — sword dart horn deity in a human form spear spire knot of fire and flute

VI

THE INFLUENCE ATTRIBUTED BY THE PEOPLE TO A COMET'S APPEARANCE

Mr Vincent Heward in his *Story of Halley's Comet*² says of Halley's comet that it is closely associated with events which have contributed largely towards moulding the destiny of Europe. One can say that that statement is true to a great or less extent of many great comets. Abûl Fazl's statement about the beliefs in a comet's influence is a reflection of the general belief on this subject.

Abûl Fazl on the authority of ancient writers whom he calls writers of wisdom says that as a result of the evil influences of a comet a famine is in sight sickness is prevalent and calamities gain strength. Further on, he refers to the dethronement of kings etc. If by the writers of wisdom he means the *pishinigân* or the ancients referred to by him in another passage we will see later on that the Pahlavi Bundelesh refers to all these calamities mentioned by Abul Fazl. We find from other Mahomedan authors also that the fear about the evil influences of the comets was well nigh general.

The following statement of Fergusson is a reflection of what according to Abul Fazl was the general belief of those in earlier times. Fergusson says: "During the ages of barbarism and superstition they were regarded as the harbingers of awful convulsions both in the political and in the physical world. Wars pestilence and famine the dethronement of kings the fall of nations and the more alarming convulsions of the globe were the dreadful evils which they presented to the diseased and terrified imaginations of men. Even at the beginning of the 18th century the friend and companion of Newton (Mr Whiston) regarded them as the abode of the damned."³

There are a number of theories about the origin and cause of the deluge. One of these is that it must be due to a comet.

¹ Pliny's *Natural History* vol II, chap XXII and XXIII. Eostock and Riley's translation vol I pp 55 58

² *The Nineteenth Century* of September 1909 n° 391 p 509

³ *Fergusson's Astronomy* by Dr Brewster 1811 vol II p 35*

on this point Comets differ enormously in brightness. Sometimes a telescopic comet has no visible tail, this however is the case only when the object is extremely faint. Sometimes also the nucleus is almost wholly wanting. Again we must remember that the observations in India in the times of Abūl Fazl (1551-1602 A.D.) were made with the naked eye and not with telescopes. The *Wakiat-i Jahangiri* while speaking of a comet in the time of Jahangir the successor of Akbar (in 1618) also says that in its tail there was no light or splendour.¹

According to Badaoni, the author of the *Muntakhab-ut-Towarikh* the tail of a comet which had appeared in 985 Hiji (1577-78 A.D.) in the reign of king Akbar (1542-1555 A.D.), had suggested a joke in the case of a courtier. Shah Mansur who occupied the post of Divan used to keep the end of his turban hanging behind him over his head. The recent appearance of the comet suggested the idea that the end of the turban hung over the back of his head like the tail of the comet. So in joke he was called *Sitarah-i dunbala* (سارۀ دنبالہ) i.e., a tailed star or comet.

(c) The third form attributed by Abul Fazl to a comet viz that of a person with a lance (nezeh) in his hand is one which is not referred to by modern scientific writers on comets but it is referred to by Pliny.² Other Mahomedan authors besides Abul Fazl have attributed to comets forms of instruments. The *Wakiat-i Jahangiri* while speaking of a comet that appeared in the 13th year of the reign of Jahangiri (Hiji 1027 A.D. 1618) says that it appeared like a spear with the two ends thin but thick about the middle.³ The *Ikbāl-namah* Jahangiri also speaks of the form as that of a javelin.⁴

Some European writers also refer to the comets as assuming the forms of instruments. For example Sigebert says of the comet that appeared in 1066 the year of the Norman conquest that to its train hung a fiery sword not unlike a dragon's tail. In another place we read of a comet appearing like a Turkish scimitar.⁵

(d) The fourth form supposed to be assumed by the comets according to Abūl Fazl is that of an animal. The *Pahlavi Bundehesh* also seems to refer to this form.

¹ Elliot's *History of India* vol. VI p. 384

² The *Sevistikah al-Awam* 4th edition by L. Lee and M. M. Ahmad Ali, 1845 vol. II p. 118. Loe's translation 1841 vol. II p. 48. Elliot's *History of India* vol. V p. 407, n° 3.

³ Elliot's *Natural History* vol. II chap. XXII. Postock and Riley's translation 1855 vol. I p. 58.

⁴ Elliot's *History of India* vol. VI p. 363.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 406.

⁶ The story of Halley's Comet. *The Nineteenth Century* of September 1902 p. 318.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

Pliny devotes two chapters (Bk II chaps XXII and XXIII) to comets¹ He divides them into several classes according to their form and appearance In his long description of form and appearance we find the following forms referred to by Abul Fazl

1 ' Shaggy with bloody locks and surrounded with bristles like hair ' Some ' have a mane hanging down from their lower parts like a long beard "

2 ' They shine like a sword ' One had the appearance of a spear

According to Pliny "it portends something unfavourable " ² These unfavourable prognostications depend upon the different forms and appearances that it assumes

Pliny refers to a comet that appeared in the time of Cæsar (44 A.D.) Halley has identified this comet with that of 1680 A.D. whose appearance is said to have led both Newton and Halley to believe that the comets were perhaps controlled in their movements by the same influence as that which held the moon in its orbit ' ³ It was the study of the observations of this comet in 1680 that led Halley to observe and study more carefully the comet which appeared in 1682 whose next appearance he foretold and which is known by his name

According to Ptolemy referred to by Abul Fazl comets presented an omen especially unfavourable to kings ⁴ Milton is believed to refer to this opinion when he says of a comet in his *Paradise Lost* And with fear of change perplexes monarchs Milton thus speaks of the belief referred to by Abul Fazl that pestilence and war result from the appearance of a comet

On the other side
Incensed with indignation Satan stood
Unterrified and like a comet burn'd
That fires the length of Ophiuchus huge
In the arctic sky and from his horrid hair
Shakes pestilence and war ⁵

Gibbon⁶ on the authority of Halley and others gives an account of the different appearances of the comet of 44 A.D. referred to by Pliny It has the period of 575 years⁷ While speaking of its appearance in the time of Justinian, Gibbon says that the nations who gazed with astonishment expected wars

¹ *The Natural History of Pliny* translated by Bostock and Riley, 1855 vol I pp 55 58 ² *Ibid* p 6

³ ' The Story of Halley's Comet ' by E V Howard in *The Nineteenth Century* no. 391, September 1909 p 509

⁴ *Ibid* p 57 no 4

⁵ *Paradise Lost* Bk II ll p 70 et seq

⁶ *The Decline and Fall of Roman Empire* 1841 vol III p 160

which may have come into collision with the earth. Fergusson and also Dr Whiston an astronomer—a contemporary and friend of Newton—held this view. Fergusson says as follows on this point. We must confess that if a natural cause is to be sought for that great event we can explain it only by the shock of some celestial body. The transient effect of a comet passing near the Earth could scarcely amount to any great convulsion, but if the earth were actually to receive a shock from one of these bodies the consequences would be awful. A new direction would be given to its rotatory motion and the globe would revolve round a new axis. The seas forsaking their ancient beds would be hurried by their centrifugal force to the new equatorial regions, islands and continents the abodes of men and animals would be covered by the universal rush of waters to the new equator and every prestige of human industry and genius at once destroyed. The chances against such an event are however so very numerous that there is no dread of its occurrence.¹

Halley is reported to have said of the comet that bears his name that if so large a body with so rapid a motion were to strike the Earth—a thing by no means impossible—the shock might reduce this beautiful world to its original chaos.²

It seems that the very mention by those whom Abūl Fazl calls writers of wisdom of the chances however remote of a catastrophe, has led many men even of the intelligent class to be afraid of the phenomenon. It has led them to prayers and ceremonies to avert such misfortunes. They attributed their escape to their devout prayers. Though they believed that the general disaster was averted they attributed partial disasters, like that of an invasion or of a dethronement a famine or a pestilence to that phenomenon.

Again it was not only in India and Persia that such a fear was general. We find that it was common in many nations both ancient and modern. Abūl Fazl in his account of the comets refers to ancient Greece Egypt and Rome. All these countries had superstitious fears of these comets. Among the Greeks Aristotle, among the Romans Ammianus Marcellinus and Pliny and among Egyptians Ptolemy refer to this fact.

Ammianus Marcellinus is reported to have said that comets foretold the ruin of great conditions.³

¹ *Fergusson's Astronomy* p. 2,3

² *The Nineteenth Century* of September 19, 9 p. 513

³ *Encyclopedia of Antiquities* by Rev F. Strode 1875 vol. II p. 67

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¹ *The Natural History of Pliny*, translated by Eoelock and Riley, 1655, vol I, pp 55-58. ² *Ibid* p 67

³ "The Story of Halley's Comet" by E V Heward in *The Nineteenth Century* no. 391, September 1909, p 509

⁴ *Ibid*, p 57, no 4

⁵ *Paradise Lost*, Bk II ll p 70 etc

⁶ *The Decline and Fall of Roman Empire*, 1846 vol III, p 160

and calamities from their baneful influence, and these expectations were abundantly fulfilled.¹ He enumerates its following appearances —

1 Its appearance in 1767 B.C. is connected with the tradition which Varro has preserved that under the reign of Oxyges the father of Grecian antiquity, the planet Venus changed her colour, size, figure and course.

2 Its second appearance in 1193 B.C. is darkly implied in the fable of Electra the seventh of the Pleiads who have been reduced to six since the time of the Trojan war. That nymph the wife of Dardenus was unable to support the ruin of her country, she abandoned the dances of her sister orbs, fled from the Zodiac to the North pole and obtained from her dishevelled locks the name of the comet.² From this description we find that the comet is classed as a nymph just as it is styled as a *pari* (fairy) in the *Avesta* and *Paldius* as will be seen later on.

3 The third appearance was in 618 B.C. a date that exactly agrees with the tremendous comet of the Sybil and perhaps of Illy.³

4 The fourth appearance was in 44 B.C. when it appeared as a long haired star in Rome. It was believed to have conveyed to heaven the divine soul of the dictator (Cæsar).⁴

5 The fifth appearance was as said above in 531 A.D. during the reign of Justinian.

6 The sixth appearance was in 1106 A.D. Even the Chinese have a record of this appearance. This was the time of the *Crusades* and both *Crusaders* and *Saracens* took omens from its appearance.

7 The last appearance was in 1680 A.D.

VII

THE PISHÎNĠĀN (i.e. THE ANCIENT IRANIANS AND THEIR NIRANGS REFERRED TO BY ABŪL FAZL.

Abūl Fazl in his long account of the comets refers to the *Pishinigan* or the ancients and says that they had many *nirangs* to counteract evil influences like those resulting from the appearance of comets. Let us examine here in a separate section the following points on this subject.

A Who were the *pishinigan*?

B What were their *nirangs*?

C What had the *pishinigan* to say about the comets?

¹ *Ibid. ² *Ibid. ³ *Ibid., pp. 160-161.***

⁴ *The Decline and Fall of Roman Empire* p. 161. ⁵ *Ibid.*

In the Pâzend Afrin : Gâhambar¹ and in the Afrin : Arda-
farrash we find the word *niru* in the sense of strength used with
cognate words. We read there *Aoj zur niru lagi amavandi piroa
garî hama fravash : ashodn be rasad, &c.* May the strength,
vigour power force success victory all reach the holy spirits
of the pious". This word *niru* when it occurs similarly in
the Afrin : Rapithavin occurs as *niru*. The sentence runs thus

*Pi aoj va zor va niru : varz pirozgar : Dadar Ahura Mazda ,
&c.* With the strength and vigour and power of the triumph-
ant splendour of Dâdâr Ahuramazd³. This word *niru* as
written here may be clearly read *nirang*

Dr Steingass⁴ gives a Persian word *niruyish* نرویش as
meaning divine decree fate and by putting a mark of inter-
rogation before it seems to have some doubt about the word.
I think this word is the same as *niru* which, in the above pas-
sage is associated with divine splendour. The final *i* (ی)
which forms abstract nouns in Persian are written in Pahlavi
and Pâzend with a letter *ح* which can be read both *sh* and
ya. For example the Persian *hadâ* for joy which is Avesta
shat is written in Pahlavi *shadih*. But in the Pâzend,
the word is written and read *Shadish*. We have a number
of such readings of abstract nouns in the Pâzend Afrin :
Haft Ameshaspandân⁵. So Dr Steingass's Persian word
niruis is nothing but *nirui* which has originated the word
nirang.

From this short examination of the etymology and meaning
of the word we see that the word *nirang* has acquired the
sense of incantation, charm etc. because it gives power or
strength to those who have faith in them.

We have a number of *nirangs* still existing among some of the
Pâzend and Persian books of the Parsees⁶.

A few *narves* intended to be recited on certain occasions
to avert certain maladies evils and evil
influences. I have given some of the *nirangs*

¹ The Text of the *Frash Gôsh* and *Afrin* p. 6. ed. by Ervad Tehmuras Din-
shaw Anklesaria 1883 : 136. Afrin : Ahmâdîr 4.

² *Ibid* p. 18. Dârmesteter Iran l'été de la sentence 1205. Que la vigueur la force
la puissance la force la conduisent victorieux viennent aux travaux des saints 12 la
Zend Avesta III p. 181.

³ Mr Tehmuras's Text p. 22. Afrin : Rapithavin 21.

⁴ Persian English Dictionary p. 1441.

⁵ Afrin : Haft Ameshaspandân 1. Ervad Tehmuras's Text p. 191.

⁶ Tale Evarset of Dâdâr Hormazd 3r. Bombay University Library Manus. slip
Vol. I f. Nos. 1-5-16.

in my papers¹ read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay. Among the *nirangs* that now exist we do not find any special *nirang* enjoined to be recited on the appearance of a comet. But it seems certain that hitherto in ancient Persia some of the natural phenomena were believed to bring with them some calamities. As I have said in my paper on 'A few ancient beliefs about eclipses and a few superstitions based on these beliefs', it was usual among the Parsees until a few years ago to say prayers on such occasions and to recite especially the *Mah bokhitar Nyash* in the praise of the moon during lunar eclipses. Mr Gaspard Drouville² said of the Zoroastrians in Persia in the early part of this century that 'Ils adressent leurs prières au soleil et les jours d'éclipse sont pour eux jours de désolation et de deuil ils se prosternent alors la face contre terre et ne se relèvent qu'au retour des rayons de cet astre'.

We will see further on that the comets were believed as it were to belong to the class of *paris* or *fairies*. So we have several Parsee *Nirangs* still existing and still recited by many—though not on occasions of the appearance of comets only—in which *paris* (*fairies*) are mentioned and it is prayed that their influence may be averted. One of these *nirangs* is that known as the *Nirang* of the Vannant Yasht. The other is that known as the *Nirang* of the Haoma Yasht³. The third *nirang* of this kind is the *Nirang* *kusti*⁴ i.e. the prayer recited on putting on the sacred thread. The fourth is that known as the *Nirang* *dur kardan* *Zulam* *divan va daryan*⁵ i.e. the Incantation for averting the oppressive influence of the Demons and Drugs.

Now we come to the third part of this section. Let us examine here briefly what the Pahlavi books of

C. What have the *pehmagans* or ancient Persians have to say about comets? the *pehmagans* or ancient Persians have to say generally on the subject of comets.

Before considering this subject we must first of all note that in the Pahlavi Bundehesh wherever comets are referred to, they are generally referred to together with meteors.

¹ (a) Charnia or a ulets for some diseases of the Eye. *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* vol III 1st p 333 et seq. (b) *Nirang* *Ushan* i.e. *nirang* *ushan* *ushan* vol V 1900 p 234 (c) Incantations for curing the hair and the nails *ibid* vol VIII

² *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* vol III n. 6 p 260

³ *Voyage en Perse* 1813 I 11 p 193

⁴ *Iude Spiegel's Avesta*, translated by Bleeker, *Koninklijke Akad.* vol III p 194. 1. *V. V. The Pahlavi Texts*, edited by Frowd, *Edinburgh* 1. *Antia* and published by the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat of Bombay p 14

⁵ *Special* *ibid* p 4

⁶ 1. *Antia* the Pahlavi Texts edited by F. K. *Antia*, pp 11-6

Almost all scientific writers of the present day treat of Comets and Meteors in the same chapter or division¹ They think of these as being two phenomena of well nigh the same kind Some of the meteoric showers are believed to be the disintegrated parts of a comet For example the Perseides are believed to be connected with Swift's Comet or the Comet III of 1862 The Andromedes are believed to be the disintegrated portion of Biela's Comet The Leonids are connected with the comet I of 1861 The Leonides are connected with the comet known as the Temple Prof Newcomb connects these together and while speaking of them under the heading Connection of Comets and Meteors says

These objects had originally formed part of the comet and had gradually separated from it When a comet is disintegrated those portions of its mass which are not completely dissipated continue to revolve around the sun as minute particles which get gradually separated from each other in consequence of there being no sufficient bond of attraction but they still follow each other in line in nearly the same orbit²

The Pahlavi Bundehesh though it does not specifically refer to any connection between the comets and meteors speaks of them together At times both these bodies are mixed up together It refers to the comets in chapters xxxv 18

31 The fifth chapter which is a chapter on a part of Astronomy after speaking of the planets speaks of two heavenly bodies as *Gurcheler va duzdo mushpar dumb homand* Dr West translates these words as Gocheher and the thievish Mushpar provided with tails³ Here the word Gocheher as suggested by Dr West refers to meteors The word

Mushpar from its epithet *dumb homand* i.e. with tails is evidently for the comet For this heavenly body of Mushpar (comet) it is added The sun has attached Mushpar to its own radiance by mutual agreement so that he may be less able to do harm⁴

In the 25th chapter we have the words Gocheher royashman va dumb va mush parik i dumb homand i.e. Gocheher head and tail and the tailed mush parik Here we find that both the words Gocheher and Mushparik refer to comets The words head and tail attached to Gocheher show that the word Gocheher also refers to comets

1 The Twentieth Century Atlas of Popular Astronomy by Thomas Heath 1903 chap. VIII p 9

Prof Newcomb's Astronomy for Everybody pp 281-282

3 S B P vol V 1890 pp 31

4 Ibid p

Then we find two more references to Gochcher in the 30th chapter of the Bundelesh. In the first place, it says: "Gucheher chegun dayan sepher min tahi binâ barâ val zamik nafrunet ¹" Dr. West thus translates the sentence: "As Gochihar falls in the celestial sphere from a moon-beam on the earth²." Here he takes the word "Gochihar" as referring to a meteor. But Windischmann reads the word as "Gurzeheher" and translates it as "Komet Keulenkopf" i.e. "a club-headed comet". Justi, reading it Gureheher, says of it that it is "namo eines Kometen" i.e. the name of a comet. Again, we read in the same chapter (Chap. xxx, 31): "Gochcher mâr pavan zak ayokshest vatakhah Suzet" i.e. "Gochcher burns the serpent in the melted meta"

From all these references in the Bundelesh, we find that the comets are known as Pahlavi words for comets. (a) "Gochcher" and (b) "Mush or Mush-parik."

(a) As to the word Gochcher, we find that the word itself varies in various manuscripts, and, even when written in the same way in some manuscripts, it is read by scholars in various ways, because some of the letters of the Pahlavi alphabet admit of various readings. Taking both these facts into consideration, we find that the word can be, and is, read as: Guchihar, Gurehihar, Gurgehihar, Gurzehihar, Durchihar, Gurzdâr, Gurgdâr. The words may respectively mean "cow-faced, boar-faced, wolf-faced, mace or club-faced, far-faced, club keeper, wolf-keeper". Some of the several words for a comet in modern Persian as given by Richardson in his *English-Persian Dictionary* are juzahr (جو زهر) guzechahar (گو ز چهر), guzechaharah (گو ز چهره). Dr Steingass, in his *Persian-English Dictionary*, gives the words gawaz chuhr (p. 1102, گور چهر) and jauzahr (p. 378 جو زهر) for a comet. Nizâm-ud din in his *Tabakât-i Akbari* gives the word

"dur-danch" (درد انر) for a comet. All these words then are derived from the Pahlavi word "Gurchihar," which can be, and which is, read variously in Persian. The Persian words for a comet settle this, viz. that the Pahlavi word "Gurchihar" and its equivalent readings in the Bundelesh more generally refer to "comets" than to "meteors."

Now, coming to the meaning of the Pahlavi word, we find that the "comet" has derived its name, either from its apparent

¹ Vide my *Bundelesh*, p. 158

² S B E. V, p. 123, chap. XXX, 1*

form of an animal like the cow, bear or wolf or of an instrument like the mace or club. These Pahlavi words then show that Abul Fazl when he said that the comet assumed the forms of animals or of instruments like the spear or javelin had the support of the Pahlavi writings, the writings of the ancient Persians whom he called the *pishmagin* i.e. the ancients.

(b) Coming to the second word in Pahlavi for a comet i.e. *Mushpar* we do not find that it has given an equivalent word to Persian for a comet. The word occurs twice in the *Bundehesh* (Chap. v. 1, 2 and Chap. xxviii. 44). That the word is used for a comet is evident because it has the appellation *dumb homand* i.e. with a tail attached to it in both the places. As the words *roshman* i.e. *dumb* i.e. head and tail are attached to the word *Guch'ar* and as the word *dumb homand* i.e. with tail is attached to *Mushpar*. I conclude that the Pahlavi writers divided comets into the following two classes—

1. Those which were quite distinct and which appeared, both with their heads (or to speak in the modern scientific language) with their nucleus and coma and their tails.

2. Those which appeared rather indistinct i.e. those whose tails only appeared.

I think Abul Fazl's division of the comets into two classes i.e. (1) the *Zaw'at ul zawab* i.e. those with locks of hair and the *Zuzanab* i.e. those with tail corresponds to the above division of the Pahlavi *Bundehesh* i.e. the *Guch'ar* and the *Mushpar*.

As to the meaning of the word *Mushpar* it is difficult to see. 1. In an old text of the *Bundehesh* in one place (chapter xxviii. 4) the word is given as *Mushparil*. This *Mushpar* or *Mushparil* is the *Mushpairika* of the Avesta (Ya na xvi. 8 LXVIII. 8) where the words *Mush* and *pairika* seem to have been used as two separate words. The Avesta word *pairika* is the same as Pahlavi *paril* Persian *pari* English *fairy*. Thus we find that *Mush* the Avesta and Pahlavi word for a comet has the word *pairika* or *paril* or *par* meaning fairy attached to it both in the Avesta and in the Pahlavi. Similarly we find that the *Meteors* which belong to the same class of bodies as the comets are referred to in the Avesta (Tir ya. ht 8) as belonging to a class of fairies.

It appears from some of the Pahlavi books that at one time the ancient Persians distinguished between the *San* the Moon and the Fixed Stars on the one hand and the Planets the Comets and Meteors on the other hand. The former belonged

to the class of the creation of Spenta Mainyu :e the Good Spirit and the latter to that of the creation of the Evil Spirit¹ In the Pahlavi Zadsparam (chap iv 3) the Planets are represented as being opposed to the Sun and the Moon The reason why the Sun the Moon and the Fixed Stars are represented as belonging to the creations of the Good Spirit and the Planet and the Comets and Meteors to those of the Evil Spirit seems to be this What is orderly and systematic is said to move in the path of Asha :e Righteousness or Order What is disorderly and unsystematic is opposed to Asha and is said to move in the path of the Dravant :e the wandering Now planets as their very English word (from its Greek root signifying to wander) implies are wandering stars as compared with fixed stars So they are represented to belong to the class of the Evil Spirit

The fumes according to the ideas of the ancient Persians belonged to the class of the creations of Evil Spirit Parik Paril Pār or Pār the Iranian word for a fairy comes from a root pār meaning to tempt to enchant The ancient word fairy also comes from a similar root (fier to enchant) Thus the wandering bodies of comets and meteors were termed fairies as belonging to the class of the creatures of the Evil Spirit

This idea of considering the Planets and the Comets and meteors as belonging to the class of the Evil Spirit seems to be a later one It does not seem to be early Avestaic This appears from the very names of the planets They all bear the names of some of the Yazatis or good beings named in the Avesta For example the planet Jupiter is called Ormazd (Ahura Mazda) Mars is called Beharam (Verethragna) Venus is called Nāhid (Anāhita) The Ulamī Islām² says that Ahura Mazda had given these planets good names Thus the idea of attributing evil influences to the meteors and comets which we see in later Pahlavi books and in the Persian books of Mahomedan authors seems to be a later Iranian one

We find a reference to the comets (Mush paridā) in the Avesta also They are referred to in the Yasna (xvi 8 LXVII 8) The Pahlavi translators of the Avesta render Mush paridā by Mush parik³ The Persian rendering of this is 'mush yāni

¹ *The Bundahesh* chap XXVIII 43 45 B D E vol V 1880 p 113 114

² *Fragments relatifs à la Foi dion de Zoroastre*, Extraits des Manuscrits Persans de la Bibliothèque du Roi Paris 1899 p 5 Vide Blochet's article 'Le Livre intitulé L'Ou lamī Islām' in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 1899

³ Spiegel's Pahlavi Lexicon p 96 11

pari harâmzad¹ " : e "Mush" : e "the ill born fairy
In the above Yasna we find faint allusions to the belief, that the
appearances of the comets were opposed to the prosperity of a
country

Now as to the word Musha which forms the first part of the
word Mush parika Mush parik, or Mush par, it comes from the
Aryan root 'mush' to injure The word seems to be the same
as Persian Mush موش, English 'mouse' So perhaps one
may take it that one of the animal forms which the comet ac-
cording to Abul Fazl was believed to assume was that of the
"mouse" Prof Harlez derives the word from the root 'mush'
'to steal' which we find in the Sanskrit word *mushnām* : e a
thief If we take that to be the proper root of the word the
Pahlavi word "düzina" (Persian duzd دزد) : e 'a thief
which we find in the Bundelesh applied to Mush par supports
that assumption Dr Mills² asks 'Is it possible that a
plague of mice is meant 'mush' being here undeclinable?
This reminds us of what is said in the Mahomedan work above
mentioned the *Ilbal nameh* : *Jahangiri* There in the account
of the phenomenon of a comet that appeared in the
13th year of king Jahangir it is said 'In the environs and de-
pendencies of the city, the mice had increased to such an
extent that they left no trace of either crops or fruits With
the greatest difficulty perhaps only one fourth of the produce
was saved to the cultivators In the same manner the fields
of melons and the produce of orchards and vine yards were
totally destroyed and when no fruit and no corn remained in
the gardens and in the fields by degrees the mice all died off³

The Bundelesh (Chap v) says of the comet that 'the sun
has attached Mush par (i.e. the comet) to its own radiance by
mutual agreement so that he may be less able to do barin⁴ This
statement refers to the movement of the comet round the Sun
alluded to by Abul Fazl and referred by modern scientific wri-
ters who say that moving under the influence of the Sun it
always describes a conic section the curve of which is in the
form of an eclipse a parabola or an hyperbola

The evil influences believed to be resulting from the appear-
ance of a comet as mentioned by Abul Fazl are thus referred
to in the Bundelesh By them these ten worldly creatures
that is the sky water earth vegetation animals metals wind
light fire and mankind are corrupted with all this violence,

¹ My manuscript of the Avesta Pahlavi Persian Yasna vol I p 183

² S B E. vol XXVI p 557 n° 2 Yasna XVI 8

³ Elliot's *History of India* vol VI p 40"

⁴ S B E. vol V 1880 p 22

and from them calamity, captivity, disease, death, and other evils and corruptions ever come to water, vegetation and the other creatures which exist in the world¹"

The Bundeshesh thus refers to the terror struck among the people by the appearance of a comet "The distress of the earth becomes such like as that of a sheep when a wolf falls upon it ²" The Avesta³ Pahlavi, Pazend⁴ and Persian ⁵ books when they went to speak of a great alarm or terror, use this simile, viz "that of the sheep being frightened by the coming of a wolf in their midst"

¹ *Bundeshesh* chap XXVIII S B E vol V, p 114

² *Ibid* chap XXX 18 S B E vol V p 170

³ *Vendidad* XI\ 33

⁴ *Afrin* i Ardāfarosh

⁵ *Le Livre des rois* par Mohl vol I p 360 Il aperçut ses hommes de guerre qui avaient vu de l'éléphant comme un chevreau quand on le voit la face du loup "

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